DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 740.0011 Mutual Guarantee/169 (Balkan) FOR Tel. #440, 7 p.m.

FROM France (Wilson) DATED April 2, 1937

TO NAME

1—1127 GPO

770.00/462

REGARDING: Meeting in Belgrade of the representatives of the Little Entente. The press expresses the belief that the Little Entente will emerge strengthened from this meeting, that the Italo-Yugoslav accord will not have a disintegrating effect on the Little Entente or weaken France's position in relation thereto.

mb

WE
NE

RB

GRAY

PARIS

Dated April 2, 1937

Rec'd 5:10 p. m.

Secretary of State

Washington.

440, April 2, 7 p. m.

There has been considerable comment in the press concerning the present meeting in Belgrade of the representatives of the Little Entente.

Papers which are content to reproduce what they are told officially express the belief that the Little Entente will emerge strengthened from this meeting, that the Italo-Yugoslav accord will not have a disintegrating effect on the Little Entente or weaken France's position in relation thereto.

note 760h.65

Pertinax in L'ECHO DE PARIS, however, calls particular attention to the question whether or not Yugoslavia and Roumania will accept the French proposal made last November to conclude with France treaties similar to existing arrangement between France and Czechoslovakia provided that they assume like obligations of mutual assistance towards each other and towards Czechoslovakia. He states that Benes will go to Belgrade to insist that

the solidarity

169

the solidarity of the Little Entente can not long resist if the French proposal is refused.

Tabouis in OEUVRE says that one must recognize the complete disassociation of the Little Entente since none of the three countries has the same attitude/or the same position as its neighbors towards any of the great powers.

D'Ormesson in FIGARO in bringing up the question whether or not the recent treaties between Italy and Yugoslavia has created a crisis in the Little Entente or whether as official circles say. the situation remains unaffected thereby, states that he believes that the truth lies somewhere between these two views.

WILSON

SMS

RGC

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

770.00/463

SEE 760h.65/721 FOR Tel.139, noon

FROM Italy (Phillips) DATED April 3, 1937

TO NAME 1—1127 GPO

REGARDING: Italo-Yugoslav accords.

Conversation with Count Ciano who stated that it was difficult at present to explain significance and consequences of -, pending outcome of present meeting of the Little Entente, which is considering proposal of France for a mutual assistance pact involving agreement on the part of France toocome to the support of Czechoslovakia in case of an attack by Germany. Rejection of plan will probably mean that the Little Entente will turn toward Rome instead of Paris.

Wi

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Bucharest, April 5, 1937.

No. 307

Subject: The Meeting at Belgrade of the Permanent Council of the Little Entente as seen from Bucharest.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
A-M/C
JAN 27 1938
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
JAN 4 1938
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
APR 19 1937
DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

770.00/464

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to the meeting of the Permanent Council of the Little Entente which was held at Belgrade April 1st and 2nd last and to enclose herewith translations of (1) the final communiqué of the Conference as it appeared in the Bucharest press, (2) remarks made by Rumanian Foreign Minister Antonescu following the reading of the communiqué, (3) statements made by Mr. Antonescu to the correspondent of the PETIT JOURNAL (Paris), (4) an analysis of the work of the Conference as telephoned from Belgrade to LE MOMENT (Bucharest

1/ 2/ 3/ 4/

FILED
APR 4 - 1938

(Bucharest French-language independent daily) by its
5/ editor, Mr. Alfred Hefter, and (5) brief extracts from the Bucharest press regarding the Conference.

Bucharest newspapers have so far confined themselves largely to reproduction of the communiqué and statements of the Foreign Ministers, with only a minimum of comment and analysis. In general, they note with satisfaction the very strong terms in which the solidarity and unity of the Little Entente are affirmed and the whole-hearted endorsement given the Yugoslav pacts with Bulgaria and Italy. Another point of particular interest is the growing optimism regarding the feasibility of developing a form of collaboration, at least in the economic field, with Austria and Hungary. It is remarked, too, that the proposal to enlarge the basis of the Little Entente by means of a general pact of mutual assistance signed by the three member States was not realized at the Conference, presumably because of reluctance on the part of Yugoslavia.

760H.65
760H.7412-
Non-agression

It may be mentioned in this connection that ADEVERUL (independent, democratic) of April 3rd publishes, with evident satisfaction, a statement made to its political writer by Mr. Stoyadinovitch to the effect that a bilateral pact between Yugoslavia and Hungary is out of the question and that if negotiations with Hungary are undertaken they will be undertaken by the Little Entente as a whole.

760H.64

Respectfully yours,

Frederick P. Hibbard

Frederick P. Hibbard,
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

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Enclosures:
5- as stated.

710.
CKH:EMS.

Copies to Belgrade and Prague.

In translation from
DIMINEATA of April 4,
1937.

Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch
No. 307 of April 5, 1937
from American Legation at
Bucharest, Rumania.

Full Translation

COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AT CLOSE OF MEETING OF THE LITTLE ENTENTE COUNCIL AT BELGRADE.

Messrs. Stoiadinovici, President of the Yugoslav Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Krofta, Czechoslovak Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Victor Antonescu, Rumanian Minister for Foreign Affairs, members of the Permanent Council of the States of the Little Entente met at Belgrade on April 1 and 2 under the presidency of Mr. Camil Krofta.

1. The three ministers proceeded to a detailed exchange of views on the general situation and on questions which particularly interest the three countries of the Little Entente. An examination of the events which, either by themselves or by their repercussion, have exercised an influence on the evolution of recent months, authorizes the three ministers to conclude that the situation has been somewhat ameliorated, which permits the hope that, in spite of the obstacles which are still left to be overcome, the most difficult part is over. It is fitting to mention especially, in the economic field, the marked revival of commerce. Without overlooking the reserves formulated in this regard, it is possible to say that this reanimation contains positive elements of a healthy and natural evolution and thus constitutes a significant factor of general conciliation in addition to the favorable circumstances in the political field.

2. Although appreciating that it is permissible,

under

under these conditions, to see the future more clearly, the Permanent Council does not at all lose sight of the problems still left. It is, however, profoundly convinced that, in this spirit of cooperation, they may be the object of a satisfactory solution, without which it is impossible to arrive at a durable regulation of international relations.

3. The Permanent Council of the Little Entente has decided to maintain strictly the decisions which were taken during the preceding sessions of the Council in regard to the different current international problems. The unity of views among the three Ministers for Foreign Affairs has been perfected so far as the general principles of the foreign policies of the three States and the means of common action are concerned.

4. The Permanent Council of the Little Entente notes that the policy of the three States of the Little Entente and their mutual relations continue to develop normally and unabatedly within the framework of the principles, the methods and the objectives fixed by the Pact of Organization of the Little Entente of February 16, 1933.

5. The Permanent Council of the Little Entente again proclaims the firm attachment of the three States to the League of Nations and to the principles on which it is based. Faithful to these principles, they will continue to make every effort to contribute to a mutual rapprochement of all the European countries and they will work as always to remove every threat of war.

6. The traditional policy of the three States of the Little Entente is based on the idea of international

collaboration,

collaboration, the basic element of which is for them their devoted friendship, sealed by engagements of alliance, and by the Pact of Organization. The relations of confident friendship, the community of ideas and of interests, give the Little Entente a solid unity, and the relations which join the three States to the friendly countries, and particularly to the Balkan Entente and France, who have recently given new proofs of friendship, determine exactly the framework within which the three States are ready to extend and to increase their political and economic relations with the other countries, and, above all, with their neighbors. The spirit of conciliation which guides the Little Entente since its creation cannot be considered as a sign of weakness, for, as in the past, it continues fully conscious of its duties and of the force it represents, being prepared to defend unflinchingly its interests and rights.

7. The organization of the system of security constitutes one of the most important problems for resolution. This organization must incorporate all regions in Europe where the question of security is raised.

The Council is still convinced that any solution which does not consider the interdependence of the national securities cannot contribute except to the creation of further difficulties that would terminate by injuring peace.

Therefore, the States of the Little Entente express their sincere desire for success in the negotiations undertaken by the Great Powers looking to a new Locarno

treaty

treaty which, once accomplished, cannot but lay the secure bases of peace, equally in Central Europe and in Eastern Europe.

8. The Permanent Council notes that the three States of the Little Entente remain opposed to any international ideologic conflict, whatever it may be, and it refuses to take sides with one of the fronts which might eventually be formed.

It proclaims its conviction that the neutral regimes of independent countries must be the object of mutual respect.

9. Guided by these principles the three States of the Little Entente point out that their attitude toward the affairs in Spain has been clear and coherent.

Having applied most strictly from the first day of the conflict the measures recommended by the Committee at London, they will quickly accept any new effort which, in permitting the most effective application possible of the rules of non-intervention, would circumscribe a dangerous nest of possible conflicts.

10. The Permanent Council of the Little Entente has examined in detail the negotiations which took place in recent months among the members of the Little Entente and other powers.

It notes that some of these negotiations, economic or political, have lead to positive results. In this sense, the Permanent Council takes note with satisfaction of the Yugoslav accords with Bulgaria and Italy, being convinced that these accords will contribute in a fruitful way to the strengthening of peace. The loyal respect

of

of engagements constituting one of the intangible principles which guide the policy of each of the three States, it is well understood that the new accords do not deviate in the least from the engagements which bind the countries of the Little Entente.

11. The Permanent Council of the Little Entente has taken note of the results of the labors of the 8th and 9th sessions of the Economic Council, has approved them and has given instructions with reference to the future economic activity of the Little Entente.

In translation from LE MOMENT of April 4, 1937 (independent daily in French)

Enclosure No. 2 to Despatch No. 307 of April 5, 1937 from American Legation at Bucharest, Rumania.

Full Translation

STATEMENT MADE TO THE PRESS AT BELGRADE BY FOREIGN MINISTER ANTONESCU

You have noted our communiqué; I believe that this explanation is sufficient to pass without comment.

I wish only to say how happy I have been to see here again my friends, the President of the Council Mr. Stoyadinovitch, and Mr. Krofta, Minister for Foreign Affairs. Since our last conference together at Bratislava the contact among us has remained permanent.

I had the pleasure again to see Mr. Stoyadinovitch in October at Belgrade, in December at Reşiţa, and a short while ago at Athens and at Belgrade. I also saw Mr. Krofta at Prague on the occasion of the visit of His Majesty King Carol, our August Sovereign. A short time ago Mr. Tatarescu, our President of Council, likewise made a visit to Prague. In this way the contact among us has never been interrupted. We engage in constant conversations and the conference at Belgrade simply fits into the ensemble of a permanent and continual collaboration. It represents for us the very great advantage of again finding ourselves all three united around the same table; as far as I am concerned, it gives me great joy to observe from the first moment the same atmosphere of friendship and of reciprocal confidence.

Four prolonged reunions have afforded us the possibility of examining with the necessary attention all the problems of present concern in the international domain, those which interest the Little Entente directly as well as those which interest it indirectly through their eventual repercussion on peace and on the European

equilibrium

equilibrium, which we are also always firmly decided to sustain with all our force.

Once more we have noted that the points of view of our three governments are identical. The policy of the Little Entente thus continues to follow the path which has been laid out for it by the conditions which lead to its formation.

It is certain that a greater vigilance and a greater cohesion on our part could never be more deeply felt. Indeed, the international horizon is charged with heavy clouds, but the Little Entente posses a vitality which even its detractors have finished by recognizing; this vitality is due to the fact that it is not simply a question----as in other political combinations---- of an abstract creation, of an association of passing interests, but that it corresponds to a historical and a geo-political necessity.

Up to the present time the Little Entente has been able to triumph over all difficulties. It has emerged victorious from all trials. We are convinced that it will play a great role in the future and that the years to come will demonstrate its usefulness with true force.

The truly touching reception given last October by the Czechoslovak nation to King Carol made me realize the way in which the solidarity of our policy corresponds today to an indisputable community of sentiments and ideas and how the ties which unite us have deep roots in the soul of our people.

I do not at all doubt that the forthcoming visit of President Benes to Belgrade will provide a new and brilliant demonstration.

During

During our meetings Mr. Stoyadinovitch, the eminent President of the Yugoslav Council, had given me a remarkable exposé of the pact which he has just concluded with Italy. I have listened to him with great interest and I have been happy to be able to assure myself that this pact gives us entire satisfaction because it corresponds completely with our views and could not offend anyone. In fact, all this reinforces the international position of one of the States of the Little Entente and contributes powerfully to the reinforcement of the Little Entente itself. The Yugoslav pact constitutes an important pledge for the maintenance of peace in this part of Europe; consequently, its authors merit our complete approbation.

But the relations of the Little Entente with other powers constitute only one of the aspects of its activity. In connection with the development of the relations of the three States among themselves, it is likewise necessary to look for promises of power and of greatness in the future. In the political, economic, financial and intellectual field our collaboration has developed considerably during the course of the past year.

The Little Entente has the mission of augmenting day by day this cohesion, this coordination of efforts which, while permitting each one of our peoples to realize as far as possible its own destiny, will make of the Little Entente a living organism, vigorous as well as supple, capable of resolving the problems which present themselves to the different countries without cease and of adapting itself to all circumstances.

In translation from LE MOMENT of April 4, 1937 (independent in French)

Enclosure No. 3 to Despatch No. 307 of April 5, 1937 from American Legation at Bucharest, Rumania.

Full Translation

STATEMENTS MADE BY FOREIGN MINISTER ANTONESCU TO THE CORRESPONDENT OF THE PETIT JOURNAL

Periodically there arise, since the war, rumors regarding the disruption of the Little Entente. This diplomatic instrument has proved itself. After eighteen years of peace Hungarian revisionism has met only with misfortune.

There now arises the question of enlarging the base of the Little Entente, of a general pact of mutual assistance among the three States. That is a problem which requires reflection. There are involved certain questions which are no longer of interest exclusively to the Danubian Basin.

Rumania is endeavoring, on her part, to increase her intimacy with Czechoslovakia. Culturally and economically relations are being intensified. We have signed with her three armaments conventions and the recent voyage of Mr. Tatarescu to Prague emphasizes the excellence of our relations. It is not by chance that Czechoslovakia holds a preponderant place as regards the military equipment of Rumania.

Rumania and Yugoslavia are united by dynastic ties and by sentiments of mutual affection. In December Mr. Stoyadinovitch informed me in advance of the Bulgaro-Yugoslav pact. Even Czechoslovakia was held au courant. At Athens the members of the Balkan Entente pronounced themselves fully on this subject.

In view of the loyalty, of which the States of the Little Entente have mutually given proof, the amelioration of the relations of one of them with one of her neighbors

cannot

cannot help but serve peace.

I wish to add that Rumania and Bulgaria maintain relations of good neighborship and that their relations tend to improve.

Actually, we have only a treaty of friendship with France. The strengthening of our diplomatic ties is also a future problem. To preserve our existing friendships, when necessary to develop them through treaties corresponding to the actual circumstances, but not to create useless enmities for Rumania, such are the general lines of my foreign policy.

Faithfulness to associates, maintenance of an international climate favorable to negotiations are necessary conditions for the preservation of peace.

In translation from LE MOMENT of April 5, 1937 (independent daily in French)

Enclosure No. 4 to Despatch No. 307 of April 5, 1937 from American Legation at Bucharest, Rumania.

Full Translation

RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE COUNCIL OF THE LITTLE ENTENTE AT BELGRADE AS SUMMARIZED BY MR. ALFRED HEFTER, EDITOR OF LE MOMENT.

Let us summarize.....the results of this conference, which, because of its agenda, has aroused the interest of the whole of Europe.

They are the following:

1. The representatives of the Little Entente have noted that the present international situation is very strained. Consequently, the three States of the Little Entente should be on their guard and ready for any eventuality.

Each one of them should, even, undertake everything which, in its particular situation, would be able to contribute to the consolidation of the frontiers and to the maintenance of peace.

2. The three countries of the Little Entente consider that the project of the French Government regarding collective security should be examined with the greatest attention.

But, in view of the fact that this project entails, in connection with certain international questions, a very serious examination by experts, who should study the possibilities of rendering it compatible with the present situation, it has been placed under consideration.

3. The question of relations with the U.S.S.R. has been examined with particular attention, especially in connection with the activity of the Komintern, and taking into consideration the interventions of the latter in certain countries of Europe and notably in Spain, where it has engaged in great activity.

The Yugoslav point of view regarding the U.S.S.R. is absolutely negative and without reserves. That is why no project has been envisaged which would be able to have, directly or indirectly, any relation whatsoever with the influence of Moscow.

4. As regards the collaboration of the States of the Little Entente with Hungary and Austria, it has been established that, above all, it is possible to proceed to a loyal economic collaboration.

It

It has been noted that events in this part of Europe are orienting themselves toward an optimistic tendency. Mr. Stoyadinovitch has even noted that revisionism has lost much of its aggressiveness and its actuality.

The grave economic crisis that Austria and Hungary are going through has induced these two countries to follow a more realistic policy, and on this new basis the Permanent Council has judged that an accord with them will be possible.

5. Thus, an auspicious atmosphere has been created for the official visit of President Benes to Yugoslavia, a visit which will constitute a splendid manifestation of friendship and brotherhood between the Yugoslav and Czechoslovak peoples.

President Benes will be received not only with all the honor which the protocol accords to a chief of state, but his visit will be taken advantage of to furnish a brilliant proof of the traditional spirit of hospitality of the Yugoslav people and of the ties of kinship which unite the two peoples.

The visit of the President of the Czechoslovak Republic will not have any repercussions of an international political nature.

6. The general impression here is----as we reported yesterday----that the Belgrade conference has been placed under the sign of the great activity of Mr. Stoyadinovitch and of the initiative of Yugoslav diplomacy.

One can only ask himself whether this activity and this initiative have terminated or if there are still more ends to attain.

According to our information, we are now able to say: no, they are not finished. Far from it.

This information, which has been confirmed so far, will receive a new and eloquent confirmation during the next few days.

Let us say for the moment that the signs are favorable for the conclusion of new pacts and of new rapprochements. It is very probable that the visit which Mr. Schuschnigg is to make to Belgrade and which has, moreover, been denied, will take place without delay.

This visit will be in direct relation with the intentions of establishing an economic cooperation among the countries of the Danubian Basin.

It is said here that in view of the positive and profitable results for Yugoslavia by the policy of Mr. Stoyadinovitch, it must be believed that they will be similarly positive and equally profitable for all the countries of the Little Entente.

Enclosure No. 5 to Despatch No. 307
of April 5, 1937 from the
American Legation, Bucharest.

In Translation

PRESS COMMENT ON MEETING OF THE PERMANENT COUNCIL

OF THE LITTLE ENTENTE

INDEPENDANCE ROUMAINE (official French organ of National Liberal Party), April 3.

The pacts concluded by Yugoslavia with Bulgaria and Italy have served as a pretext for a general campaign of false news which the declarations of the three Ministers of Foreign Affairs have once again clarified. These constitute, in effect, such a manifestation as to exclude uncertainty and to put an end to all calumnies. It may from now on be affirmed that all the activity which has been developing for some time in Central Europe, far from entailing new complications, is destined to bring about a détente and to fortify the hopes for a better future.

DIMINEATA (independent, democratic), April 3.

In the spirit of the organizing pact drawn up at Geneva by Messrs. Benes, Titulescu and Jeftich, the basic element indicated that none of the three States signatory to the Pact could contract with a third party, or even take an important initiative without having the advance approval of the two other contracting States.

The gradual amelioration of the situation in the Danubian Basin later decided the directors of the foreign policy of the Little Entente to ratify, in the communiqué of September 14, 1936, published at the end of the session of the Little Entente at Bratislava, the maintenance with other countries of those relations "of active and close collaboration which each of them has succeeded in establishing."

That is why it was decided just now at Belgrade to "maintain strictly the decisions which were taken during the preceding sessions of the Council."

LE MOMENT (independent, in French), April 3.

This final communiqué proves once again the perfect solidarity which exists between the three States of the

Little

Little Entente, the wise and pacific attitude of this group vis-à-vis the present problems of international life and the desire to continue along the road of its traditional policy.

ADEVERUL (independent, democratic), April 4.

.....The communiqué itself clarifies every question which has recently raised doubts as to the solidarity and the viability of the Little Entente. It adds nothing, however, to what was already known, nor anything sensational.

.....Mr. Antonescu in a statement to a French press representative declared that the problem of a general pact of mutual assistance among the three States, the enlarging of the basis of the Little Entente, is a problem which requires time for study, for it does not exclusively concern the Danubian Basin.

.....Each country has the right and the duty to seek other arrangements to suit its needs. Each country must not in these engagements, however, derogate from the obligations which bind the three allies. Each country at the same time is supported and cemented by a common relation with France. This idea was enunciated in the communiqué.

In revealing this fact, the conference at Belgrade has thus fulfilled perfectly that which was expected of it under the present circumstances. It noted clearly and categorically the solidarity of the Little Entente and the decision of the three States to remain closely united, to remain faithful to the principles of collective security, therefore also to the League of Nations, and to broaden in every domain the bases of their collaboration.

Good news for the lovers of peace.

PREZENTUL (National Peasant Economic Organ), April 5.

From the published communiqué after the Little Entente Conference one gathers that the essential problem of enlarging the basis of the Little Entente has not been resolved. For the moment the three states continue their solidarity as far as their attitude toward Hungary and Austria is concerned, but they also continue the policy established at Bratislava that each state should concern itself regarding security toward other states

as it sees fit. The Little Entente at the same time maintains its relations with France and the Balkan Entente.....

If no definite decision could be reached concerning a pact of mutual assistance as proposed by France, in turn the Little Entente has declared itself decisively against any ideologic conflict and has thereby clearly defined its attitude toward the Germano-Italian proposals. Finally, the Little Entente has approved the accords recently concluded by Yugoslavia with Bulgaria and Italy, mentioning expressly its respect for old engagements.

In resumé, the sudden visit of Count Ciano to Belgrade, the accords signed and the concessions made Yugoslavia, have not remained without their effects. The fact that Yugoslavia does not accept a broadening of the basis of the Little Entente implicitly constitutes a strengthening of the Berlin-Rome axis.

.....

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 721. Belgrade, April 5, 1937.

Subject: Conference of the Permanent Council of the Little Entente at Belgrade, April 1-2, 1937.

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
JAN 4 1938
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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JAN 3 - 1938
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
APR 19 1937
DIVISION OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

770.00

Referring to the Legation's telegram No. 12 of April 5, 1 P.M., 1937, concerning the meeting held at Belgrade on April 1 and 2, by the Permanent Council of the Little Entente, under the Presidency of Mr. Krofta, Czechoslovak Minister for Foreign Affairs, I have the honor to enclose herewith a translation of the official communiqué issued by the three Ministers of the Little Entente at the close of the meeting. The following is a summary of its chief points:

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"The three Ministers discussed the international situation in detail and remarked a certain improvement, which permits the hope that, in spite of all difficulties still unsolved, 'the worst period has been passed'.

"The three Ministers share identical views about the general principles of foreign policy of the three States and the methods of their application. The Standing Council reaffirms that the policy of the three States and their mutual relations continue to develop within the framework adopted by the Little Entente on February 16, 1933 (which was designed to demonstrate to the world the solidarity of the three countries by setting up the system of joint foreign policy, standing council, and the like).

"The Standing Council reaffirms the devotion of the three States to the League and the principles on which it is based. They will continue to work for a general reconciliation of all European States and for the avoidance of war. This spirit of conciliation is not a sign of weakness and the three States are at all times ready to defend their national rights.

"The bonds between the three States and the countries of the Balkan Pact and France, who has recently given new proofs of her friendship, form the framework within which the three States are prepared to expand and intensify their political and economic relations with other States, primarily with their neighbors.

"The three States express the sincere wish that the negotiations between the Great Powers for a new Locarno pact will meet with success and provide a firm basis for peace in Central and Eastern Europe.

"The three States are firmly opposed to any kind of international ideological conflict and will not join either of the blocs to which such conflict might give rise. The domestic regimes of independent States must be mutually respected. This principle dictates the attitude of the three States towards the Spanish conflict. They have strictly applied all measures recommended by the Non-Intervention Committee and would welcome all new efforts to make non-intervention effective and limit the area of potential danger spots.

"The Standing Council notes with satisfaction the conclusion of the Yugoslav-Bulgarian and Yugoslav-Italian agreements, and is convinced that these will serve the cause of peace."

It will be noted that in the communiqué great stress is laid upon the entire agreement on all points and the complete solidarity of the States of the Little Entente. These protestations were emphasized probably to try to overcome the impression which seems to be prevalent here that the solidarity of the Little Entente, especially between Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, seems to be weakening. However, this impression appears to have been strengthened rather than lessened by the recent session of the Council. It is true that the members of the Permanent Council did find themselves in complete accord on many questions of general policy; but there was one where on Yugoslavia apparently refused to adopt the points of view and meet the desires of its allies.

As is known, France has been pressing a plan for extending the treaty commitments between France and the Little Entente countries so as to provide for immediate mutual support against aggression from any quarter. At present Yugoslavia has a Treaty of Friendship with France which obliges her to assist the latter country only against an act of aggression by Germany. With Czechoslovakia, France has a Pact of Mutual Assistance against any act of aggression, and the three Little Entente countries have among themselves treaties which provide for automatic mutual assistance only against Hungarian aggression. What the French have been urging upon Yugoslavia - in the special interest of Czechoslovakia - is a pact of mutual immediate and automatic assistance against aggression from any quarter (i.e., Germany). I learn, however, from apparently reliable authority that

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when

when the Czechoslovak Minister for Foreign Affairs broached the subject at the recent Conference of the Little Entente it was received so coolly by Yugoslavia that the subject was dropped, although it is believed that Mr. Benesh, who arrived at Belgrade today on a three days' official visit, may make further efforts in that direction. The general impression in diplomatic circles here, however, is that he also will be unsuccessful. Personally, I am convinced that Yugoslavia does not intend to extend its obligations and will fight shy of attaching itself to any one of the rival blocs. Yugoslavia is, I believe, desirous of increasing its independence of action rather than taking on new obligations.

Yugoslavia at the meeting of the Council seems to have allayed any uneasiness which its allies, Roumania and Czechoslovakia, may have felt concerning the recent Bulgarian-Yugoslav and Italian-Yugoslav agreements. This is not only stated in the communiqué, but the Roumanian Minister for Foreign Affairs in speaking to members of the press on this subject stated, "on the occation of our meeting, Mr. Stoyadinovitch made us a remarkable exposé concerning the pact which he has recently concluded with Italy. We have listened to him with the liveliest interest and have been happy to be able to assure him that the pact has given us complete satisfaction, for it corresponds perfectly with our views and cannot prejudice anyone. In fact, everything which strengthens the international position of one of the States of the Little Entente contributes powerfully

to

to strengthening the Little Entente itself. The Italian-Yugoslav pact is a powerful gage for the maintenance of peace in this part of Europe and therefore its authors deserve our complete approval."

It was also made clear that these new agreements of Yugoslavia in no way affect the previous treaties already existing between Yugoslavia and its allies.

The press, following the cue given by the official communiqué, also dwells upon and emphasizes the unanimity of views and the even increased solidarity of the Little Entente. I am not enclosing any of these press comments as in this country, where no opposition press is allowed to exist and where only the Government's views are published, such articles have no real value as an indication of public opinion.

As usual on these occasions, there was a large official banquet at which an exchange of toasts took place. These toasts seem to me to be an exchange of rather perfunctory courtesies and were singularly empty of any political significance.

In summing up, I should say that the recent session of the Permanent Council of the Little Entente has left the situation about as it was before, but with certain tendencies somewhat clearer; namely, the continued drift of Yugoslavia away from France, its desire to preserve or even increase its independence of action, and its firm decision not to be dragged into any military venture which does not directly concern its own security; that is to say, Yugoslav assistance could not be counted upon by Czechoslovakia in case that latter country were attacked by Germany.

In

In connection with the meeting of the Little Entente, I have the honor to enclose herewith extracts of an editorial from the London "Times" of April 1, 1937, entitled "Changes in Central Europe".

Respectfully yours,

Charles S. Wilson

Enclosures:

1. Translation of Communiqué issued by the three Ministers of the Little Entente.

2. Extracts from Editorial in London "Times" of April 1, 1937.

File No. 710

CSW:HSB

Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch No. 721 of April 5, 1937, from the American Legation, Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

Translation. Source: AVALA, April 2, 1937.

COMMUNIQUE
CONCERNING THE EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF THE PERMANENT COUNCIL OF THE LITTLE ENTENTE AT BELGRADE.

Messrs. Stoyadinovitch, President of the Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, K. Krofta, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia, and V. Antonesco, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Roumania, members of the Permanent Council of the States of the Little Entente, have met at Belgrade on April 1st and 2nd under the presidency of Mr. Krofta.

1.- The three ministers made a detailed exchange of views not only concerning the general situation, but also concerning the questions which interest particularly the three countries of the Little Entente. The examination of the events which, either in themselves or by their repercussions have influenced the evolution of the last months, authorizes the three ministers to note a certain improvement in the international situation which gives hope that, in spite of difficulties which remain to be overcome, the most difficult period is already passed. In the economic field the marked improvement in business must be especially noted. Without ignoring the reserves which have been made on this subject, it is possible to say that this recovering contains positive elements of healthy and natural evolution and thus constitutes an important factor in general appeasement added to favorable circumstances in the political domain.

2.- While believing that it is permissible, under these conditions, to consider the future with more serenity, the Permanent Council by no means loses sight of the problems which remain. It is, however, profoundly convinced, that these latter can be satisfactorily settled, in a spirit of cooperation without which it is impossible to reach a lasting settlement of international relations.

3.- The Permanent Council of the Little Entente has decided to maintain strictly the decisions reached during the preceding sessions of the Council, concerning the different international problems now existing. The unity of views of the three Ministers for Foreign Affairs has been perfect, not only concerning the general principles of the foreign policy of the three States, but also as to means of their common action.

4.- The Permanent Council of the Little Entente notes that the policy of the three States of the Little Entente and their mutual relations continue to develop normally and constantly, within the framework of the principle, the methods, and the aims fixed by the Pact of the Organization of the Little Entente of February 16, 1933.

5.- The

5.- The Permanent Council of the Little Entente again proclaims the firm attachment of the three States to the League of Nations, and to the principles on which it is based. Faithful to these principles, they will continue to make every effort to contribute to the mutual rapprochement of all European countries, and will work as always to remove all threats of war.

6.- The traditional policy of the three States of the Little Entente is based on the idea of international collaboration, the foundation of which is, for them, their devoted friendship, sealed by their alliance and by the Pact of Organization.

The relations of confident friendship, the community of views and interests make of the Little Entente a solid unity, and the ties which unite the three States to friendly countries, and especially to the countries of the Balkan Entente and to France, which has recently given new proofs of friendship, fix exactly the framework within which the three States are ready to broaden and deepen their relations with other countries, and especially with all their neighbors. The spirit of conciliation which has guided the Little Entente since its foundation, must not, however, be considered as a sign of weakness, for as in the past, it is fully conscious of its duties and of the force its represents, prepared to defend without hesitation its interests and its rights.

7.- The organization of the system of security is one of the most important problems to be solved. This organization ought to englobe all the regions of Europe where the question of security exists. The Council is convinced that any solution which does not take into account the interdependence of national securities, can only contribute in creating fresh difficulties, and will end by injuring the cause of peace. For this reason the States of the Little Entente express their sincere desire for the success of the negotiations going on among the Great Powers for a new Locarno treaty, which once successfully terminated, cannot but give a firm foundation for the peace both in Central and Eastern Europe.

8.- The Permanent Council states that the three countries of the Little Entente are opposed to any sort of ideological international conflict, and refuse to take a place on either of the two fronts which may eventually be formed. They proclaim their conviction that the internal regimes of independent countries should be the object of mutual respect.

9.- Guided by these principles the three States of the Little Entente emphasizes that their attitude toward affairs in Spain has been clear and coherent. Having from the very first day applied in the strictest manner, the measures recommended by the London Committee, they will eagerly greet any new effort which, while rendering as efficaciously as possible the application of the principles of non-intervention, will circumscribe a dangerous center of possible conflicts.

10.- The

10.- The Permanent Council of the Little Eente has examined in detail the negotiations which have taken place during the last months between the members of the Little Entente and other powers. It takes note that certain of these negotiations, both economic and political, have already given positive results. It is thus that it takes note with satisfaction of the agreements of Yugoslavia with Bulgaria and Italy, convinced that they will efficaciously contribute to the strengthening of peace. Loyal respect of engagements being one of the firm principles which guide the policy of each of the three States, it is needless to state that the new agreements do not in any way effect the engagements which the countries of the Little Entente to each other.

11.- The Permanent Council of the Little Entente has taken note of the results of the work of the VIII and IX sessions of the Economic Council, has approved them, and has given directions for the future activities of the Economic Little Entente.

Enclosure No. 2 to Despatch No. 721 of April 5, 1937, from the American Legation, Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

Extracts from Editorial, entitled: Source: London "Times", of April 1, 1937.

CHANGES IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

All roads in Central European diplomacy seem to be leading now to Belgrade. Today the Council of the Little Entente will meet there in conference. On Monday the President of the Czechoslovak Republic will pay an official visit to the city. Another week or so and the Turkish Foreign Minister will be paying his visit. Chance has played its part in bringing some of the visits so near together, but others are the direct result of the important diplomatic event which took place in Belgrade during the Eastern holidays--the signing of the Italo-Yugoslav Treaties. These treaties, one political, the other commercial, have given a new bias to Central Europe diplomacy. Generally they have been welcomed, as almost any agreement must be welcomed between two countries long divided by mutual suspicion. But the politicians of Czechoslovakia and Rumania--Yugoslavia's partners in the Little Entente--will doubtless have questions to ask, as well as congratulations to offer, today. They will seek assurances that Yugoslavia's new agreement with Italy does not cut across her agreements within the terms of the Little Entente.... Under M. Stoyadinovitch Yugoslavia has consolidated her position at home both politically and economically, and her friendship is all the more to be valued.

From Great Britain the messages of good will after the signing of the Italo-Yugoslav Agreement were no less sincere than those from the Central European countries. A barrier has been removed that during most of the post-War years blocked all attempts at appeasement in Central and South-Eastern Europe. The D'Annunzio coup, the murder of King Alexander of Yugoslavia, the Abyssinian war, the Yugoslavs' fear of the Italian influence among their southern neighbors, the Albanians, and among their northern neighbors, the Austrians and the Hungarians--all these factors seemed as so many bars in the way of understanding. Yugoslavia felt herself being shut in, especially by sea, where the heel of Italy stretches back close to the Albanian coast. Italy has now given assurances of peaceful intentions which Yugoslavia has accepted and has reciprocated. On the question of Adriatic and Mediterranean policies an agreement has been reached on the model of the Anglo-Italian Declaration of January and in the spirit of Count Ciano's assurances to the Turkish Foreign Minister in February--assurances which, by the way, may soon be embodied in a no less welcome Italo-Turkish Agreement. On the question of policies by land Italy and Yugoslavia exchange promises that neither will allow on her own territory discontented groups of exiles to plot against the security of the other. Italy has apparently given further promises not to encourage any Albanian claims on the border districts and any other parts of Yugoslav territory inhabited by Albanians. Under the terms of the special Trade Treaty commerce between the two countries is to be rebuilt and extended. Italy have accepted the prospect of an adverse balance spready over five years. In every way care has been

been taken to ensure cooperation between the two countries for a much longer time than that which followed the ill-fated Italo-Yugoslav Agreement of 1924.

The Treaies, important in their immediate effect on Central European relations, are only a part of the general and continually changing background against which the Council of the Little Entente will meet today. Elsewhere in Central Europe there have been slight readjustments of relations within recent weeks. Put shortly, it would appear that Italy has consolidated her political connexions and Germany her commercial. At the same time there is a new attitude--of being almost on guard--taking shape in some countries. The Austrian Chancellor, for example, has lately dismissed a Minister who was suspect of German Nazi sympathies; and there was the sharp Yugoslav demand to Germany for a reduction of the German overdraft at the Yugoslav National Bank. Economic improvement in several Central European countries is bringing with it a new sense of political strength which cannot be disregarded. Italy has often been suspect of a policy of <u>divide et impera</u> among her Eastern neighbors. Her agreement with Yugoslavia looks like evidence that Signor Mussolini now believes that peace in Central Europe and in the Eastern Mediterranean can best be guaranteed by international cooperation. No less true is it that peace can best be guaranteed by such means in the Western Mediterranean. The Western nations can applaud the Italo-Yugoslav Agreement more heartily at this time in the belief that the tension of the past week has been reduced, and that the door to international discussion and to cooperation in a vital European problem may not have been finally barred by a series of Dictatorial declarations.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

770.00 /466

SEE 760h.65/735 FOR #361

FROM Albania (Grant) DATED Mar.29, 1937

TO NAME 1—1127 GPO

REGARDING: Little Entente.

Opinion expressed by the Turkish Minister to Albania that the recently concluded Italo-Yugoslav agreements weaken the -.

W1

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 760h.65/736 FOR #1578

FROM Poland (Johnson) DATED April 10,1937
TO NAME

1—1127 GPO

REGARDING: Conference of the Little Entente in Belgrade.
Polish Press Comment on --.

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NOTE

770.00/468

SEE 760h.65/742 FOR #322

FROM Italy (Phillips) DATED April 16, 1937

TO

NAME

1—1127 ero

REGARDING:

Little Entente.

Conversation with Count Ciano who expressed opinion that the - was broken by the Italo-Yugoslav agreement. Belief that the Little Entente is now dismembered and Yugoslavia has thrown in her lot with Italy, while Germany regards Czechoslovakia as within her sphere of influence.

Wi

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Prague, April 10, 1937.

No. 685.

Subject: Meeting of the Little Entente in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, April 1-2, 1937.

DIVISION OF EASTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS MAY 13 1937 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

CONFIDENTIAL

DIVISION OF WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS MAY 4 1937 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

RECEIVED DEPARTMENT OF STATE 1937 MAY 3 PM 1 26

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

MID MAY 10 1937

DEPARTMENT OF STATE MAY 6 1937 DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE A-C/O MAY 6 1937 ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that in the week which has elapsed since the conclusion of the meeting of the Permanent Council of the Little Entente in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, and since President Beneš' official visit to that capital, somewhat different emphasis is placed by the local press, in retrospect, upon the results of these events than by certain persons in official positions in the Czechoslovak Government.

The press emphasizes the elasticity of the Little Entente and its ability to conform to changing conditions, while

770.00/469 FILED MAY 18 1937

while at the same time it stresses the loyalty of the States of the Entente to one another and the force which, as a unit, the Entente plays in the policy and maintenance of European peace. The press has given great prominence to the cordial reception which was accorded to the President on the occasion of his visit to Belgrade and regards the apparently sincere manifestation of friendship as particularly significant.

On the other hand, officials are taking a more moderate, and perhaps more realistic, view of the situation and, although expressing satisfaction at the results of the meeting of the Council itself, they consider that, with the conclusion of the Itale-Yugoslav Pact just prior to the meeting, it is fortunate that cooperation between the three States is as good as it proved to be.

It is understood here that Yugoslavia had to admit that the procedure followed in the negotiations with Italy was not what may be called 'fair play' toward her partners, in view of the fact that during the negotiations she endeavored to belittle their importance and made believe that the pending arrangement principally concerned Yugoslavia's internal affairs and would help to give a final blow to the 'Separatist Movement' of the Croats and Slovenes. Since Czechoslovakia and Rumania were presented more or less with a 'fait accompli', the Yugoslavs finally admitted that the manner in which the negotiations were carried on and the pact concluded was not in conformity with the spirit of the Little Entente agreements. It is reported that they expressed their

regret

regret but maintained that the concessions offered them by Italy were unusually favorable and that, as a result, they had to yield to Italy's pressure for a hurried conclusion as Italy insisted that it was "now or never".

I am told that Czechoslovakia and Rumania firmly believe, however, that Italy's main object was to undermine and to weaken the Little Entente. Having failed in that mission, Italy is now determined to make another attempt and is now seeking to bring about a rapprochement between Yugoslavia and Hungary, the latter of which also is interested in the Italian scheme for obvious reasons. While Czechoslovakia and Rumania will from now on undoubtedly be more cautious toward their Yugoslav partner, they feel somewhat relieved that Yugoslavia has assured them that under no circumstances will she enter into any separate negotiations with Hungary and that she is determined to adhere hereafter strictly to the policy of the Little Entente. (Please see telegram No. 456, April 9, 1937 from Embassy, Paris).

760H.64

45

With regard to the proposal for an extended military assistance pact Yugoslavia, as reported here, continues to maintain that, while she would not be opposed thereto in principle, she does not wish to extend her obligations at present because this would amount to her adherence to one of the rival blocs in Europe.

In view of the position adopted by Yugoslavia, this country, which is more interested in the proposal than is Rumania, decided not to press for a legal extention of guarantees of security, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs is reported to have said upon his return to Prague:

Prague: "The scheme may not be buried but is, at any rate, indefinitely postponed".

According to official opinion, it may not be assumed that France suggested the conclusion of the above mentioned pact. It is maintained that the scheme was first discussed between the Little Entente States at Geneva last September upon the suggestion of Czechoslovakia, and that France seconded it and offered her cooperation provided that a definite agreement could be previously reached between the Little Entente States.

The cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Rumania has recently improved to such an extent that it is believed here that the latter is prepared to adhere to such an arrangement at any time, provided it is within the outline of the Little Entente policy. During M. Titulescu's tenure of office it was Soviet Russia which was vitally interested in the conclusion of a pact with Rumania similar to the one which it concluded with Czechoslovakia; the Soviet interest has now considerably relaxed as the Soviets, it is confidentially known, have no confidence in the present Rumanian Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Antonescu, who, they argue, is not sufficiently strong to bargain with the Rumanian radical right elements.

760F.71

In so far as the Soviet-Yugoslav relations are concerned, Dr. Krofta is reported to have expressed surprise when he was assured by Prince Regent Paul that it is erroneous to assume that the Yugoslavs oppose a Soviet rapprochement for dynastic reasons. As a matter of fact, Prince Paul indicated to Dr. Krofta and to President Beneš that Czarist Russia was never very friendly

760A.61

to

to the Serbians; that Yugoslavia should not hesitate to resume friendly relations with Soviet Russia were it not for Communism which continues to be a menace to Yugoslavia; and that, since Czechoslovakia is by far better protected against Communism, Yugoslavia had no reason to disapprove her policy toward Soviet Russia.

Respectfully yours,

J. Butler Wright.

VC/EJ
710

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NOTE

SEE 863.00 P. R./159 FOR Despatch #1117

FROM Austria (Young) DATED April 23,1937
TO NAME

REGARDING: Danubian affairs. Interest of the Vienna press in a speech recently made by Premier Daranyi of Hungary on April 1st at Szegedin on,-.

770.00/470

fp

Speech of Hungarian Premier on Danubian Affairs.

The Vienna press has shown some interest lately in a speech made by Premier Daranyi of Hungary on April 1 at Szegedin in which it appears that M. Daranyi took a more conciliatory line than usual towards the Little Entente, made a cool reference to Germany, repudiated dictatorships, and admitted that a serious Jewish question existed in Hungary. According to the Vienna press M. Daranyi said that close collaboration with Italy and Austria within the framework of the Rome Protocols offered the best guarantee for pacific development in Central Europe. Hungary was also ready to pave the way for better relations with those states with which she had disputes. Hungary wished to settle those disputes with the states in question on a basis of mutual accomodation provided they too showed good will and were ready to recognise her rights. For this reason Hungary was willing to consider proposals for cooperation among the Danubian States only on a basis of complete equality of rights. Further the rights of the Hungarian minorities in the Succession States must be legally guaranteed, for without a satisfactory settlement of this question a normal relationship between Hungary and the Little Entente was inconceivable.

Finally

Finally, M. Daranyi is reported as saying that any attempt to incite the Hungarian populace to establish a dictatorship of any one Party would be ruthlessly suppressed.

Many observers feel that the foregoing speech of M. Daranyi reflects the recent conversations held between him and Chancellor Schuschnigg in Budapest when it is believed that a rapprochement with the Little Entente and a watchful attitude towards National Socialism were discussed.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 762.65/302 FOR Tel. 205- 5pm

FROM Italy (Kirk) DATED May 6,1937

TO NAME

1—1127 GPO

REGARDING: Principles of Italy and Germany concerning Danubian policy. Statement of Neurath that "It is a case of guaranteeing each country the free development of its possibilities and necessities."

770.00/471

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

770.00 /4727

SEE 760h.6412 Non-aggression/4 FOR #726

FROM Yugoslavia (Wilson) DATED April 12, 1937

TO NAME

1-1127 OFO

REGARDING: Yugoslav-Hungarian agreement.

Statement of the Yugoslav Prime Minister that as a preliminary to -Hungary would be obliged to abandon all claims to territorial revision and that agreement would include all countries of the Little Entente.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 740.0011 Mutual Guarantee/177 (Balkan) FOR Despatch #1614

FROM Greece (Shantz) DATED April 10, 1937.

TO NAME 1—1127 GPO

REGARDING: Chronological summary of Balkan cooperation through pacts and meetings. Compilation of all treaties(excepting clearing agreements), conventions, and meetings which have played a part in the development of political, social, cultural and economic cooperation in the Balkan region.

wth

770.00 /473 x 73

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 749. Belgrade, May 10, 1937.

Subject: Parliamentary Conference of the Little Entente at Belgrade.

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JAN 4 1938
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

770.00/474

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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JAN 3 - 1938
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

770.00

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUN 3 1937
DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to report the meeting at Belgrade, May 6 - 9, 1937, of the Parliamentary Conference of the States of the Little Entente, a meeting which is devoid of any constructive significance but which is symptomatic of the efforts, especially on the part of Czechoslovakia, to banish the impression that the Little Entente is tottering towards a rupture, as many people would believe.

The

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JAN 7 - 1938

The program of the Conference consisted mainly of speeches of mutual amity and felicitation, visits to various points of interest in the immediate vicinity of Belgrade, and the usual luncheons, dinners and receptions. The Belgrade press devoted a great deal of space to the Conference and reproduced in all detail the panegyrics of the distinguished guests, editorially commenting upon the strength of the existing ties between the three States.

Little in the various speeches bears repeating, being somewhat more platitudinous than usual. Of interest, however, is the repeated reference to the "will of the people" and "national representation expressed through a Parliament and Senate" - which is probably true in Czechoslovakia, only partially so in Roumania, and quite to the contrary in Yugoslavia, where the "Skupshtina" and Senate are to all intents and purposes a fifth wheel to Dr. Stoyadinovitch's cart.

Reference was made to the fact that the present meeting of the Parliamentary Conference was continuing the work of the first session held at Bucharest early in December of last year. But as far as I can gather nothing concrete was evolved at that first session and nothing has been accomplished during the present meeting. The occasion is merely an opportunity to be wined and dined and to listen to speeches stressing the solidarity of the now-reputed tenuous ties between the three States.

Respectfully yours,

Charles S. Wilson

Charles S. Wilson

File No. 710
CSR:HSB

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 761.00/284 FOR #-

FROM U.S.S.R. (Henderson) DATED Apr. 27, 1937

TO NAME

1—1127 GPO

770.00/475

REGARDING: Views of Moscow regarding foreign policy of the Little Entente: comments on same. The Soviet Government is anxious that the countries of the Little Entente be under Soviet-French influence rather than under the domination of Germany or Italy.

wb

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 391 Sofia, June 5, 1937

Subject: The Plovdiv Military Incident.

RECEIVED DEPARTMENT OF STATE JUN 22 1937 DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE JUL 7 1937 DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE JUN 22 1937 ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

MID

JUL 8 - 1937

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

770.00 note 874.20

Sir:

I have the honor to report that on May 6, 1937, St. George's Day, at a military review held in Plovdiv the motorcycle section of the army had placards on their motorcycles bearing the names of places in Greek and Turkish Thrace where the Bulgarian army had fought. While it was understood that both the Greek and Turkish Legations here resented the action of the military authorities, the incident was so trivial that it was not deemed worthwhile reporting to.....

770.00/476

FILED JUL 9 - 1937

to the Department. However, it now appears that at the instance of Dr. Aras, the Turkish Foreign Minister, who, I am informed, took the matter up with the members of the Balkan Pact, a protest was filed by Mr. Stoyadinovitch, the Yugoslav Prime Minister, in his capacity of President of the Balkan Pact, through the Yugoslav Legation at Sofia. It is understood that the Bulgarian Prime Minister, Mr. Kiosseivanoff, expressed his apologies to the Yugoslav Minister here and stated that he would see to it that a similar incident would not again occur.

The other representatives of the Balkan Pact signatories in Sofia had not been informed of the action taken by Mr. Yourichitch, the Yugoslav Minister at Sofia, and have only now been advised by their respective Foreign Offices that the incident has been satisfactorily closed.

In speaking of the matter with an official of the Foreign Office he stated that it was difficult for his Government to see where there was any cause for complaint on the part of the Greeks and Turks, as it was a well-known fact that all armies display in some manner the names of the battles in which regiments have participated. He thought that it was only another instance showing the Greek and Turkish attitude toward Bulgaria.

Respectfully yours,

K. deG. MacVitty
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

File 710
KGM/MM

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

770.00/477

SEE 771.00/46 FOR #363

FROM Rumania (Harrison) DATED June14, 1937

NAME

TO

1—1127 GPO

REGARDING: Communique issued by the Little Entente following the recent Bucharest meeting.

Copy of -.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

770.00/478

SEE 760h.62/42 FOR #366

FROM Rumania (Harrison) DATED June 15, 1937
TO NAME

1—1127 GPO

REGARDING:

Visit of the German Foreign Minister to Yugoslavia.

Rumanian reaction to -.Press discussion of question of whether Yugoslavia is being weaned away from the Little Entente.

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Bucharest, June 21, 1937.

No. 372

Subject: Dr. Hodza's Visit to Bucharest and the Meeting of Little Entente Premiers on the Danube, June 15 to 17, 1937.

CONFIDENTIAL

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
JUL 14 1937
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

1937 JUL 13 PM 3 01
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

MID

JUL 27 1937

770.00/479

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
A-C/C
JUL 17 1937
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

Sir:

In connection with the visit to Bucharest of the President of the Czechoslovakian Council of Ministers, Dr. Milan Hodza, on June 15th and 16th last and of the meeting of the Little Entente Premiers on the Danube June 17th I have the honor to transmit, as enclosures, the following:

1/ 1. Program of Hodza Visit to Bucharest and Conference of Little Entente Premiers on Danube, June 15 to 17, 1937.

2/ 2. Toasts exchanged by Premiers Hodza and Tatarescu.

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JUL 28 1937

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3/ 3. Communiqué Issued at Close of Hodza-Tatarescu Conversations at Bucharest, June 16, 1937.

4/ 4. Communiqué Issued at Close of Conversations of Little Entente Premiers on Danube, June 17, 1937.

5/ 5. Statement to Press by Tatarescu in name of Little Entente Premiers, June 17, 1937.

6/ 6. Statements to Representatives of Rador and Avala Agencies by Dr. Hodza following Bucharest and Danubian Conversations.

7/ 7. Press Comment on Hodza Visit to Bucharest and Danubian Conference of Little Entente Premiers.

In addition to returning the visit of Prime Minister Tatarescu to Prague last March (despatch No. 302 of March 27, 1937) Dr. Hodza was able during his thirty-six hours here to discuss certain problems concerning the delivery of armaments to Rumania by Czechoslovakia and modes of payment therefor, to interview old Transylvanian friends and party leaders with an eye on the formation of the next Rumanian Government, to bathe in the glory which Rumanians attach to his pre-war activities in coordinating the Slovak-Yugoslav-Rumanian minority interests in the Parliament at Budapest, and to execute all the usual ritual attending the modern diplomatic visit. He was received here with real affection, he had an excellent press, and gave the impression of accomplishing his mission in a direct and business-like way. Just prior to the departure from Bucharest at midnight of June 16-17, Dr. Milos Cermak, Counselor in the Foreign Office at Prague and a member of Hodza's entourage (at one time reported to be the successor of Jan Seba as Minister to Bucharest; see despatch No. 301 of

March

March 26, 1937) informed a member of this Legation, hastily and in strictest confidence, to the following effect:

> "Aside from the protocol aspect of the visit, Mr. Hodza had two aims in coming to Bucharest:
>
> "In the first place, we are supplying arms to Rumania for which she is not paying. We are trying to find a solution for that, and by way of solution we (Czechoslovakia) shall probably obtain an oil concession here in Rumania; nothing is yet concluded in this connection but it is on the way.
>
> "In the second place, Dr. Hodza, who has many friends and is well known in Transylvania, is desirous of assisting the King and Tatarescu in resolving the problem of the formation of the next Government here. They (King Carol and Tatarescu) want a combination of the National Peasants with Vaida Voevod. He (Hodza) is persuading them in the direction of the National Peasants alone.
>
> "Now we are meeting Stoyadinovitch on the Danube, and we are going there to tell him not to go too far with Germany."

Tatarescu's toast to Hodza, which contained a recital of the many ties between the two countries and stressed the value of their armies, their alliances and their (Little Entente) union, can in the opinion of AGENCE RADOR be aptly summarized by quoting therefrom the following sentence:

> "Your presence, Mr. Prime Minister, offers us an occasion to affirm, again, the indissoluble alliance which unites forever our two countries, as well as Yugoslavia, in the same ideal of peace, of progress and of civilization."

After a series of compliments in long reply, Dr. Hodza said:

> "I beg the historians to tell us whether there ever existed three nations so

indissolubly

> indissolubly bound in the most beautiful periods of their history as we, the countries of the Little Entente";

and then went on to speak of the importance of vitalizing the union into an increasingly powerful and ever more constructive force. Therein lies, of course, his Little Entente philosophy, as opposed to the Stoyadinovitch conception of the Little Entente as having a common political policy toward Hungary but individual liberty of action in other fields and directions.

The communiqué issued at the close of the Bucharest conversations spoke of "the happy results of the political collaboration between Czechoslovakia and Rumania", the resolution of important economic and financial questions, the satisfactory progress made in armaments deliveries to Rumania and payments therefore, the desirability and practicability of developing collaboration among the States of the Danubian Basin, and the profound attachment of the two countries to the League of Nations (they will accept no eventual reform that would weaken the League but only one that would strengthen it), finally expressing satisfaction at the prospect of meeting Stoyadinovitch and resuming with him the study of all these questions.

Since it was generally considered that the Bucharest talks could do no more than improve the already excellent Rumano-Czechoslovak relations and treat with details of problems already happily resolved in principle, attention from the beginning was mainly focused on the meeting of the three Government Chiefs between

Cladova and Buzias on the Danube. It was taken for granted by most that this meeting was conceived as a form of reply to von Neurath's recent trip to Belgrade, Sofia and Budapest (despatch No. 366 of June 15 last), and there has been some anxiety as to the degree of firmness the resulting communiqué would employ in reaffirming the "solidarity" of the Little Entente and as to the nature of the reassurances Stoyadinovitch would be able to offer his colleagues regarding his recent diplomatic philandering.

Not a great deal was divulged by the communiqué beyond a general affirmation of "the unity, the strength and the fidelity of the Little Entente", plus a repetition of those passages of the Bucharest communiqué contemplating the development of collaboration among the States of the Danubian Basin and vowing a profound attachment to the principles of the League of Nations. There was really more meat in Tatarescu's statement to the press wherein he said:

> "The Little Entente constitutes today a united and powerful mechanism which no force in the world will be able to weaken or shake."

and notably:

> "The peoples of the Little Entente will never offer to the world the spectacle of the curiae, who were defeated one after the other because they left the common front of battle."

Dr. Hodza also touched the point of chief interest when he said in an interview before leaving Rumanian territory:

"We

"We were happy to have Mr. Stoyadinovitch emphasize through his presence at our conference today the solidarity of the Little Entente and to have been able to deepen still more its intimate collaboration as regards the most delicate questions....."

Mr. Liviu Nasta, who is probably the foremost political writer in Rumania and was in attendance at the Conference, writes in the DIMINEATA (independent, democratic) of June 19th that Mr. Stoyadinovitch pointed out in the conversations that he had not deviated in his diplomatic activities from the principle agreed upon at Bratislava last year (despatch No. 770.00/441 150 of September 16, 1936), namely, that each of the three allied states should seek the establishment of good relations with other powers, with the obligation, however, of serving the interests of the other two members of the Little Entente. He added, says Mr. Nasta, that he had proceeded in this manner with Bulgaria, Italy and Germany without having the slightest intention of departing from or weakening the policy of Little Entente collaboration, as proved by the fact that Yugoslavia had categorically refused the German proposal of ten days ago looking to the conclusion of a pact identical to that recently negotiated between Italy and Yugoslavia. Nasta's report states that Dr. Hodza then took the floor and expressed his agreement to the principle referred to by Mr. Stoyadinovitch, with the condition, however, that these somewhat separate negotiations should not weaken the Little Entante nor leave room for an interpretation that might favor the Berlin-Rome bloc. Mr. Nasta concludes that the Little Entente has indisputably been

brought

brought back to the traditional lines of its foreign policy, that Yugoslavia is determined to pursue a policy of fidelity to the Little Entente and of collaboration with the Franco-British bloc in the domain of European politics.

Out of the confusion of all the communiqués and statements and comment attending the Bucharest and Danubian talks the following conclusions may reasonably be drawn:

1. The Little Entente States are united on a policy of firmly opposing Hungarian rearmament by any means other than negotiation. No concession can be made to revisionism. Yugoslavia will not, at least for the moment, conclude a separate agreement with Hungary.

2. The Little Entente adheres to the principles of the League of Nations; in the case of eventual reform the Little Entente will only accept one which strengthens, but not one which weakens, the League.

3. The Little Entente is agreed on an endeavor to develop collaboration among the States of the Danubian Basin.

4. Mr. Hodza seeks a vitalization of the Little Entente into a more active and constructive force, more binding military guarantees, closer cooperation among the armed forces, a community of armaments, a synchronization of war industries, increased economic collaboration, more binding ties in general. Mr. Stoyadinovitch holds to his theory that the Little Entente is a political instrument directed mainly against Hungarian revisionism, and that the individual allied states should otherwise retain a certain liberty of action in their relations with other outside States. Tatarescu---with Antonescu---stands between these two extremes.

5. The Little Entente recognizes the necessity of maintaining a solid front and is determined to avail itself of every opportunity to affirm its solidarity.

6. A very real political affection unites Czechoslovakia and Rumania; although this sentiment scarcely extends to promiscuous-

minded

minded and uncertain Yugoslavia, they are willing to indulge in infinite cajolery to hold her within their embrace.

7. The Little Entente is dedicated to the Franco-British school of thought, with new emphasis on the British aspect.

8. The relations of the three Entente States with Russia do not appear to have been made a subject of discussion.

Respectfully yours,

Leland Harrison.

Enclosures:

1- Program of Hodza Visit.
Translations of:
2- Toasts exchanged by Premiers Hodza & Tatarescu.
3- Communique issued at Close of Conversations at Bucharest.
4- Communique issued at Close of Conversations on the Danube.
5- Statement to Press.
6- Statements to Representatives of Rador and Avala Agencies.
7- Press Comment.

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CKH:EMS.

Copies to Belgrade and Prague.

Received EP

Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch No. 372
of June 21, 1937, from the
American Legation, Bucharest.

PROGRAM OF HODZA VISIT TO BUCHAREST

AND CONFERENCE OF LITTLE ENTENTE PREMIERS ON DANUBE

JUNE 15 to 17, 1937

.....

June 15

9:15 a.m. Arrival of Dr. Hodza at Bucharest, Mogosoaia, where he was greeted by Government and diplomatic officials, then accompanied by Foreign Minister Antonescu to Athenée Palace Hotel.

10 a.m. Dr. Hodza signed the books at the Royal Palace.

11 a.m. Exchange of visits between Messrs. Hodza and Tatarescu.

1 p.m. Reception of Dr. Hodza by King Carol, followed by lunch at the Royal Palace. Mr. Tatarescu was also present.

4 p.m. Wreath laid on Tomb of Unknown Soldier.

5 p.m. Messrs. Hodza, Tatarescu and Antonescu had conversations at the Foreign Office.

9 p.m. Dinner at the Military Circle, at which toasts were exchanged by Prime Ministers Hodza and Tatarescu. A reception followed.

June 16

During the morning Dr. Hodza received visits from Messrs. Mihalache and Popovici and Dr. Lupu, National Peasant Party leaders, and from Mr. Vaida Voevod, former National Peasant leader but now chief of Frontul Romanesc.

1 p.m. Dinner given at Ministry of Foreign Affairs by Foreign Minister Antonescu.

3 p.m. Reception of press by Dr. Hodza.

5 p.m. Two-hour conversations by Hodza, Tatarescu and Antonescu at Tatarescu's home. Communiqué issued subsequently.

8:30 p.m. Dinner at Czechoslovak Legation followed by reception.

June 17

June 17

12:30 a.m. Departure of Messrs. Hodza, Tatarescu and their suites from Bucharest, Mogosoaia station, for Turnu Severin, where at 7 a.m. they boarded the S.S. REGELE CAROL II, then proceeded to Cladova on the Yugoslav side of the Danube to meet Yugoslav Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs Stoyadinovitch.

Conversations were held during the day.

5 p.m. Arrival at Bazias, where a joint communiqué was issued by the three Chiefs of State and Tatarescu gave a statement to the press. The various Ministers then proceeded to their respective capitals.

.....

TOASTS EXCHANGED BY PREMIERS HODZA AND TATARESCU

(Translated from DIMINEATA of June 17, 1937)

.....

Mr. Tatarescu's Toast

Mr. President of Council,

It is a great joy for me to salute your presence among us.

I salute you as the emissary of a friendly and allied people whose sufferings, now legendary, are blended with the sufferings and sacrifices of our brothers of Transylvania.

I greet you, a former pupil of the Sibiu Lyceum who, alongside the old Transylvanian generation, tempered his soul in the same ideal of national liberty and who, sharing with his Rumanian comrades the same inspired aspiration of emancipation, lived in anticipation, in his dreams of youth, the great epic of union and the liberation of our peoples.

Your presence offers the privilege to be able to affirm once more the indissoluble alliance which eternally binds our two countries and Yugoslavia in the same ideal of peace, of progress and civilization.

The union of our three peoples is the task of that robust national instinct which sustains our entire policy of close collaboration in defense of our common interests and of peace, which remains the permanent aim of all our act and efforts.

Is it further necessary to recall that this love of peace determined our alliances and that it animates them? Is it further necessary to recall that none of them is aggressive nor directed against anyone?

The Little Entente is one of those political organisms which efficaciously contributes to the creation of an atmosphere of collaboration, indispensable to amy fruitful task of peace.

It has not ceased a moment its work of removing the traces of old disagreements and organizing relations among the neighboring states on a basis of broad and fruitful cooperation in all the domains of their activity. It has always extended a friendly hand to all peoples animated with the same aspirations of peace. It remains constant in its pacific feelings, it is loyal in its

reciprocal

reciprocal engagements, persistent in the aims which it pursues and unshakeable in the defense of justice, for the accomplishment of which millions of human lives were sacrificed.

For, to the extent that we are deeply devoted to the idea of peace, to that extent are we decided to defend to the utmost our national patrimony and our frontiers.

Toward this single end, we want to be strong and to bring in support of justice a material force which will defend it, preserve it and, if necessary, impose it.

The guarantees of our force will remain---let us repeat it---our armies, our alliances and our union.

Our armies, whose technical means will continue to be increased so as to be ready at any moment to fight in the service of peace.

Our alliances and friendships, which we intend to strengthen and to consolidate without interruption and to which we remain attached unwaveringly and loyally, as we remain faithful to the Covenant of the League of Nations, which, in spite of its moments of hesitation, continues to be a powerful guarantee in the defense of justice and the supreme hope of international understanding and fraternal collaboration among all peoples.

Finally, our union, an indissoluble union of the three peoples constituting the Little Entente, does not know and will never know any weakness. This union has been to date the most efficacious guarantee of our security and the keystone of peace in this region of Europe: we will continue to strengthen it and to deepen it in all the domains of our collaboration.

Mr. President of Council,

Your visit to the country is a new and manly confession of this decision and of these feelings which animate our peoples, as well as of the immovable will that guides the States of the Little Entente, to remain closely united and to persist with all their powers in defense of the common ideal of peace, of order and of progress.

From the bottom of our hearts spring today the warmest greetings for the great animator of this policy of peace, for His Excellency President Eduard Benes, for the prosperity of Czechoslovakia and for you, dear President of Council and friend,

Long Live Czechoslovakia!

Reply of Dr. Hodza

Mr. Minister,

I thank you with all my heart for the kind words with which you have greeted me today, which is the first time since the end of the Great War that I have had the privilege of finding myself on the soil of Greater Rumania, in its capital.

How beautiful it is to see the immense progress and the vigor of your country which is so dear to us all and, particularly, the progress and the vigor of Bucharest which is the inherited pride of pre-war Bucharest, then the metropolis of southeastern Europe. What a wonderful satisfaction for us all who, tens of years ago, passed over the roads of Transylvania, the path of the heroic battles for national liberty, to see how these sufferings and these battles have given birth to the unparalleled vigor of a unified nation, healthy and strong, which, hurling aside all obstacles, pursues ever more elevating objectives of human happiness and of national force!

I thank you, Mr. President, for your words, which went straight to my heart. I thank you for having recalled Sibiu to my memory, but I also thank the city of Sibiu and its celebrated Saxon Lyceum for the two beautiful years of study that I passed there. But, dear President and friend, just as faith and loyalty go together, so is your Transylvania, and through it Greater Rumania, bound by all the sentiments of my country and I would be unfaithful to the memory of the pathetic moments of our common battles if today, in my quality as President of the Czechoslovak Government, and having near me the President of the Rumanian Government, were I not to recall this memory so dear to our hearts.

I extend my thanks, after more than forty years, to the noble Rumanian ladies who long ago earned the gratitude of the Slovak people. We were in the height of battle for national liberty and the great poet Svetozar Hurban Vajansky, the mouthpiece of the Slovak people, was suffering in prison at Segedin. A delegation of Rumanian ladies with courageous decision opened the gates of the prison to bring flowers and sunshine to the sad cell of the Slovak poet. These flowers and this sunshine, we Slovaks, we Czechoslovaks, have never forgotten. But on the ribbon with which the flowers were tied there was a message which the Slovak poet received in the name of his entire people. They were simple words: "All for Nation"! This profession of Rumanian national faith resounded from the Carpathians on the south, which are Rumanian, to the Carpathians on the north, which are Slovak.

I beg the historians to tell us whether there ever existed three nations so indissolubly bound in the most beautiful period of their history as we, the countries of the Little Entente.

Mr. President,

I beg you to inform your entire country and your entire nation that to this common tradition of battle and victory the Slovak people will remain eternally faithful. Accepting your thesis of union and force, I add that the life of nations is the organic development of their history and precisely from historic realities flow the great burdens incumbent on our three states since the end of the Great War.

The eighteem years during which our collaboration has developed offer innumerable proofs of the fact that the Little Entente is today the essential instrument of defense of the three essential principles which inspire the entire international policy as long as it is determined to serve the cause of peace and of human progress. These three principles are: justice, security, cooperation.

Out of justice was the Little Entente born eighty-nine years ago. And precisely because we have never disavowed this origin have we always been victorious. And as we wish to be victorious also in the future in all circumstances, we will never disavow it. Never and under no circumstances will we renounce justice for ourselves, never and under no circumstances will we deny it to others. Justice is the integral part of the national idea upon which our states and our international situation are based.

We know very well that just as the most fertile soil has need of rain and of sunshine, any truth, no matter how ideal it may be, must find support in the national force. We are proud that we can say openly today that each of the States of the Little Entente, in spite of the difficulties and of the long crisis, has brought together enough moral and military powers. I have never committed and will never commit the error of believing that we can serve the cause of peace by being weak. The security of the States and the security of peace is one and the same thing. If it is true that peace is indivisible, we must recall that so is security and to the same extent.

No one in Europe can object, Mr. President, when you say that the Little Entente has never hesitated to remove the traces of the old disagreements and has never refused to do what is necessary to bring about good relations with its neighbors. I am happy to take this opportunity to say that Czechoslovakia approves all the initiatives looking to the organization of a system of economic and political relations with our neighbors in the Danubian Basin as well as with all the Great Powers who are interested in the moral and economic progress of the States of Central Europe. There is no doubt that the perfecting of the economic and political organization in the Danubian Basin is entirely in conformity with the spirit of all accords which we have concluded with our allies and friends and whose prime object is to give the broadest basis possible to security and peace in Europe. Likewise, the

consolidation of the Danubian Basin is in conformity with the spirit of the League of Nations, whose force will grow to the extent that it will find a more solid support in regional posts.

I wish to point out that we are not speaking only of good understanding and of treaties. Good understanding in present international relations is no longer sufficient; it must also be translated into an active collaboration. The point is being discussed whether pure statism or, on the contrary, dynamism can serve as a point of departure in the future development of international relations. Neither one nor the other. It is absolutely necessary to overcome this theoretic and practical obstacle of international relations and to apply the principle of vital and speedy cooperation, based on reasonable and true interests of all the elements with which Europe wishes to found its policy of peace.

The Little Entente at its beginning, the second day of war, could have been nothing but a simple instrument of defense. It continues, naturally, and will continue to be that. But, since it is not only a simple mechanism of formula, the Little Entente has elevated itself to become what it is today, an instrument of constructive politics and of creative collaboration. We are convinced that it is becoming an indispensable instrument of consolidation in the Danubian Basin and through this an instrument of European peace.

We could not be proud of the great tradition of our nations had we, with national independence, not contributed a positive share toward the edification of the pacific policy and the civilization of Europe.

That is why we declare that it would be a truly fatal mistake and an irreparable error of calculation in international policy were anyone, wherever or in whatever form, to doubt the unreserved solidarity of the Little Entente and of its power of action.

You were correct, Mr. President, in saying that my stay in Rumania is a new proof of the undying fraternity which binds, on the one hand, our two countries, and on the other, the two countries with Yugoslavia. As for me, who has always fought together with your compatriots to assure a better future for our nations, this is a beautiful and solemn moment when, in the name of the Czechoslovak Government, I toast the health of the brilliant representative of Greater Rumania who was last year received with such sincere enthusiasm by my country, to the health of His Majesty King Carol II, and when I drink to the happiness and success of the Kingdom of Rumania, I drink to you, too, my dear President and friend.

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Enclosure No. 3 to Despatch No. 372
of June 21, 1927, from the
American Legation, Bucharest.

COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AT CLOSE OF HODZA-TATARESCU CONVERSATIONS

AT BUCHAREST, JUNE 16, 1937

(Translated from DIMINEATA of June 18)

The warm and spontaneous reception which the Rumanian people gave Mr. Milan Hodza, President of the Czechoslovak Council, has proved to what extent the alliance of Czechoslovakia and Rumania corresponds to the intimate sentiments of the two nations.

Mr. Hodza's conversations with Rumanian statesmen proceeded under the sign of these sentiments of profound esteem and friendship and permitted the observation of a complete harmony with regard to the different questions touched upon in the political and economic spheres.

The Government Chiefs of the two friendly and allied States congratulated themselves on the happy results of the political collaboration between Czechoslovakia and Rumania, which day by day becomes more complete and which develops within the framework of the Little Entente.

In the conversations between the two Presidents of the Council the economic relations between Czechoslovakia and Rumania were also considered. On this occasion, important economic and financial questions of interest to the two States were resolved. The two Government Chiefs confirmed, at the same time, their common accord with respect to the necessity of developing the volume of commercial exchange between the three States of the Little Entente and of binding closer the economic ties that unite them.

Concerning the delivery of war material ordered by Rumania in Czechoslovakia, Messrs. Hodza and Tatarescu were happy to note that these deliveries are being speeded up and that the arrangements with regard to their financing are functioning to the complete satisfaction of the two parties.

After they examined the general situation from the political point of view, Messrs. Hodza and Tatarescu resumed their Prague conversations relative to the action to be followed toward realizing the collaboration so necessary between the States of the Danubian Basin, and they reflected on the practical means of bringing this result about.

In the course of their exchanges of views, the two Government Chiefs reaffirmed their profound attachment to the Covenant of the League of Nations, whose principles

affirm

affirm the basis of their mutual collaboration as well as of their relations with the other states. As far as the eventual reform of the Covenant of the League of Nations is concerned, they will accept no modification that tends to weaken the Covenant but only that which might strengthen it.

In regard to questions of a political and economic character which were discussed and which concern the Little Entente as a whole, the two Presidents view with satisfaction the privilege given them to meet His Excellency President Stoyadinovitch and to resume with him the study of these questions.

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COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AT CLOSE OF DANUBIAN CONVERSATIONS

JUNE 17, 1937

(Translated from DIMINEATA, JUNE 19)

The meeting which took place on the Danube aboard the steamship REGELE CAROL II of Milan Stoyadinovitch, Yugoslav President of Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Milan Hodza, Czechoslovak President of Council, Gh. Tatarescu, Rumanian President of Council, and V. Antonescu, Rumanian Minister for Foreign Affairs, offered the statesmen of the three allied countries the opportunity to have detailed conversations, in the course of which they reviewed the political and economic problems interesting the States of the Little Entente.

They noted their complete accord on questions which formed the object of this examination, as well as their desire to tighten and to strengthen the ties which unite the three states by the coordination of the economic system and by an action of intense cooperation in all domains, corresponding so well to the spirit of solidarity with which the three peoples are so deeply inspired.

They confirm, at the same time, the aims of the political action of their countries, which remain unchanged: the maintenance of peace and the defense of the frontiers within the framework of their alliances and friendships.

They agreed also to continue their concerted action looking to cooperation of the States of the Danubian Basin in collaboration with all interested powers.

The three Government Chiefs wished to affirm again their profound attachment to the League of Nations, whose principles constitute the basis of their mutual collaboration as well as of their relations with the other states, and that they will not accept, in any contingency, any modification not of a nature to strengthen it.

The three Government Chiefs noted the unity of views existing between them and were happy to be able to point out that the understanding and the solidarity prove to be complete among the three States of the Little Entente, which through their collaboration contribute in a significant degree to the consolidation of peace.

Convinced of the utility of their periodic meetings, the three Government Chiefs have decided to hold these meetings in rotation in the respective countries.

The meetings of the three Government chiefs has affirmed once more the unity, the strength and the fidelity of the Little Entente.

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Enclosure No. 5 to Despatch No. 372
of June 21, 1937, from the
American Legation, Bucharest.

STATEMENT TO PRESS BY TATARESCU

IN NAME OF LITTLE ENTENTE PREMIERS

JUNE 16, 1937

(Translated from DIMINEATA of June 19)

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The conversations which were started at Bucharest with President Hodza terminated during the excursion on the Danube with the participation of President Stoyadinovitch.

This meeting constitutes an important event in the history of the Little Entente; it is the first time that the Chiefs of the Governments of the Little Entente have met to deliberate on the great interests which permanently bind the three peoples.

The communiqué will describe the conversations which took place and their conclusions. I can give a resumé of these conclusions in saying that the Little Entente constitutes today a united and powerful mechanism which no force in the world will be able to weaken or shake.

Because I am speaking also to the foreign press, I may add that I know that at certain moments in the columns of certain newspapers abroad there appear sensational news and comments due to insufficient information or misleading facts. Once and for all I wish to dissipate these legends by declaring in the name of my colleagues: the peoples of the Little Entente will never offer to the world the spectacle of the curiae who were defeated one after another because they left the common front of battle.

With all my heart I thank the Rumanian and foreign press whose representatives came to broadcast this solemn reunion.

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Enclosure No. 6 to Despatch No. 372
of June 21, 1927, from the
American Legation, Bucharest.

STATEMENTS TO REPRESENTATIVES OF RADOR AND AVALA AGENCIES

FOLLOWING BUCHAREST AND DANUBIAN CONVERSATIONS

(Translated from AGENCE RADOR of June 19, 1937)

.....

The manifestations which we have witnessed since our arrival in Rumanian territory, at Bucharest and during our voyage on the Danube are for me the proof of the need of the populations of all our countries of the Little Entente to sieze every occasion to manifest their firm and decisive determination to have solidarity in all their actions, as well as to demonstrate that the organic collaboration of the States of the Little Entente constitutes an immovable element of international politics.

The results of these days do not consist only of these manifestations. We have prepared the practical solutions for certain existing and new problems in the matter of Danubian cooperation.

This is why the moments passed in the beautiful country of Rumania as well as the voyage on the Danube will remain the brilliant and unforgettable testimony of our friendship and of our fertile alliance and collaboration.

We have already had at Bucharest the occasion to render homage to the Sovereign of Great Rumania, His Majesty King Carol II, who loses no opportunity to give his own people all the results of human progress. We remember all his collaborators, with Messrs. Tatarescu and Antonescu in mind.

We have been happy to see M. Stoyadinovitch emphasize by his presence at our conference today the solidarity of the Little Entente and to have been able to deepen still more its collaboration as regards the most delicate questions, and to assure, at the same time, its future development.

I wish to thank warmly all the collaborators of the Presidents of the Councils of the Kingdoms of Rumania and Yugoslavia for their valuable cooperation.

Salute, Gentlemen, on my behalf, all those who, in Rumania and Yugoslavia, have supported us in our work by the glow of their enthusiasm and sympathy, one further proof that our three governments find always the support of their peoples as they realize their program, hand in hand.

Enclosure No. 7 to Despatch No. 372
of June 21, 1937, from the
American Legation, Bucharest.

PRESS COMMENT ON HODZA VISIT TO BUCHAREST

AND DANUBIAN CONFERENCE OF LITTLE ENTENTE PREMIERS

.....

UNIVERSUL (independent, anti-Semitic, nationalistic)

June 15

Mr. Milan Hodza, the Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, arrives tomorrow. His presence will be a timely privilege to reaffirm the Rumanian-Czechoslovak friendship which, in spite of the different attempts, has remained unharmed....

On behalf of the unity of the policy of the Little Entente which serves the cause of peace, as well as of the interests of each of the three states, it is necessary that any separate manifestation of an international character of each of these states should not again have the character of surprise and should not be made without a previous consultation among the three allies. Simple information 24 or 48 hours before the event takes place is neither in conformity with the diplomatic customs between allies and friends, nor does it assure to such an event the moral authority of an anticipated accord among allies, thus leaving the path open for every intrigue, every insinuation and every suspicion.

That is why the conference which takes place on Thursday, June 17, of the authorized representatives of the States of the Little Entente has a special importance and must serve as an occasion for a sincere and categoric reaffirmation of the solidarity of the states of the Little Entente which nothing can shake, being based on the real and permanent interests of the three countries.

June 18

.....We are convinced that at that at this time we do not exaggerate in the least when we say that the international authority of the Little Entente and, therefore, indirectly its activity in the international field, has for some time been shadowed.

Certainly, not one of the three States considers that the mission of the Little Entente is about to terminate. Mr. Hodza himself said yesterday to the newspapermen that "the Little Entente continues and will continue." An identic declaration was also recently made by Mr. Stoyadinovitch, and the Rumanian Government did not forget to make such a statement.

Besides, we have no doubt that the politicians who conduct the policy of the three allied states do not hesitate a moment in their conviction as to the necessity

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for closest ties among them by the strengthening of this important political organism.

But we do not like to cover our eyes and stuff our ears.

For some time certain things have happened which have revived, justly or unjustly---and we believe unjustly---the hopes of those who seek the weakening and the dismemberment of the Little Entente.....

Equivocation must be stopped. It is not sufficient to affirm in successive communiqués the solidarity and the unity of views of the States of the Little Entente. This unity must indisputably be shown by facts, by "accomplishments," as was expressed by Mr. Hodza, by absolute clarity in common action and in the action of each of the three states.

To return to this status, which gave the Little Entente a brilliant place in the past, there must be a frank discussion and sincere verification of the acts which have given birth to doubts and which have provoked the present atmosphere.....

TIMPUL (independent), June 16, 1937

Rumania receives a new guest: Mr. Milan Hodza, President of the Council of the allied republic, Czechoslovakia. It receives him with love and with complete loyalty that is offered in all alliances dedicated to peace.....

Let us be understood:

There are two problems which await early solution.

First, the Danubian problem.

The Great Powers one by one have had their say. It is our turn now, the directly interested Danubian States, and we must obtain results as soon as possible. Mr. Hodza has in this regard a plan which, along broad lines, we entirely approve. It is a plan of economic rapprochement of all the Danubian States based on principles of related, if not unitary, economic life, with natural ties also abroad, especially with the two great powers more interested in our administration: Germany and Italy.

The more we strive to preserve the initiative and to be the true accomplishers of the task of organizing a Danubian peace, the more will we be able easily to remove certain tendencies of hegemony which aggravate and may compromise the fruitful understanding we seek.

Then there is the so-called problem of security.

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The Little Entente defends the order created by the Trianon Treaty. The attempt to give to the idea of "collective security" a larger fulfillment within another system---of the system of pacts of "mutual assistance"--- has failed.

The bloody incidents in Russia justify today certain of our fears. They appear to teach us that more healthful than distant engagements among states different in power and extent are engagements with nearby states having common aims.

The visit of Mr. Hodza under such circumstances will perhaps make it easier for us to clarify our policy of rapprochement between neighboring states desirous of defending jointly peace and their independence.

ARGUS (independent, economic organ) June 16.

The President of the Czechoslovak Council is for us a faithful and understanding friend. We should like, very esteemed Mr. President, that you should feel yourself at home among us, in the same way that you have provided the occasion for numerous Rumanians to live some instants in a fraternal union of ideas and sentiments in the beautiful and old capital of your beautiful country.

INDEPENDANCE ROUMAINE (official organ, in French, of National Liberal Party), June 17.

The sense that should be attributed to this reunion is very simple. It will have the effect of showing in a categoric and clear manner that no ambiguity will be able to exist in the relations that unite the three countries.

The Little Entente is in no way isolated. Its members, both individually and together, have never hesitated to bring themselves closer to those countries which are attached to the same ideal of peace and of international collaboration.

To Hungary, to Germany, to Italy, the Little Entente has never hesitated to offer its economic cooperation and to envisage the plan for material collaboration in Central Europe and in the Danubian Basin.

PREZENTUL (National Peasant Economic Organ), June 17.

The thing which we must hope for is that the constructive program which Mr. Hodza sponsors may be understood and utilized at the opportune moment.

CURENTUL (independent, anti-Semitic, nationalistic), June 17.

The presence of Mr. Milan Hodza in Rumania signifies the affirmation of ties of friendship continually strengthened by the constancy of common interests. The visit of the Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia becomes more precious because of the certainty that the foreign policy, so exaggerated in recent years, begins to break down: Soviet Russia. There are heard agitated murmurs which seethe from below, and some day the hostile lava of a new volcano may flow over the present Russian regime, as it did ten years ago, and lay a new and permanent layer.

And it is natural that at this moment Czechoslovakia should direct her attention toward her loyal and constant friend: Rumania. For the realism of Mr. Hodza, one of the most intelligent politicians of Central Europe, Rumania is a certainty, long ago proved.....

The times forbid illusions; decided friendships impose severe affirmations of sincerity. We do not offer flowers and a protocol greeting but a courageous call to realities in defense of a common patrimony: reciprocal support in the face of a common enemy.

And to the intelligent realist, to the sensible statesman Milan Hodza, we extend a welcome.

ADEVERUL (independent, democratic), June 18.

.....After the royal manifestation on the occasion of the reception of Mr. Moscicki and after the political communiqué of the two Government Chiefs no one can doubt or insinuate that we are not proceeding rigorously on the straight path which we have traversed loyally since the war.

Besides, this question will be the object of discussion at the time of the meeting with the Yugoslav Prime Minister. It is quite probable, therefore, that the categoric manifestation at Bucharest will be completed, along the same line and with the same decisiveness, by the communiqué after the meeting on the Danube.

After reaffirming these fundamental principles and after stressing the inseparable cohesion of the Little Entente, the two Government Chiefs spoke at Bucharest of the practical action looking to a realization of collaboration among the Danubian States.....

Under these conditions the visit of Mr. Milan Hodza to Bucharest and the results obtained are of precious importance to Rumania.....

VIITORUL

VIITORUL (official organ of National Peasant Party), June 18.

The text of the communiqué issued at Bucharest has given profound satisfaction to the entire Rumanian public.

LE MOMENT (independent, in French), June 20.

It has been pretended notably that Yugoslavia, sure of her frontier on the Italian side, strong in her friendship with Bulgaria, having no subject of litigation with Rumania, and being able to obtain from Hungary the guarantee of the inviolability of her northern frontier, would detach herself from the Little Entente in order to enter into the orbit of the protesting countries. As for Czechoslovakia, militarily guaranteed by Russia, politically protected by the democratic powers, she would rally economically to the countries which are able to serve as markets for her products and would leave the Little Entente.

After the visit of Mr. von Neurath at Belgrade and of Mr. Milan Hodza at Vienna and at Budapest, visits which seemed to give a certain consistency to that which was only a vague rumor, it was necessary that those who fully represent their countries at a moment when politics are so closely related to economics should come and affirm first of all their "attachment to the Pact of the League of Nations"....., and secondly, "their will to act in concert" in order to arrive at a realization of cooperation in the economic field among all the Danubian States.

This is, further, what Messrs. Tatarescu, Stoyadinovitch and Hodza have done in their historic reunion from Cladova to Buziaş, affirming again the unity, the force and the vitality of the Little Entente.

ECHO DE BUCAREST (economic weekly, in French), June 20.

The visit of Mr. Milan Hodza acquires all its value and all its significance from the fact that it took place immediately after the diplomatic tour of Mr. von Neurath to Belgrade, Sofia and Budapest.....

The aim of the trip of the President of the Czechoslovak Council has been to dissipate all equivocation and to put an end to the affirmation of the German press to the effect that the accords of Yugoslavia with Rome and Berlin will mark the beginning of the end of the Little Entente, and one may consider now that this aim has been achieved.

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 773. Belgrade, June 20, 1937.

Subject: Conference of Prime Ministers of Little Entente States.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
A-C/C
JUL 20 1937
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
JUL 14 1937
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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JUL 21 1937

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

As the Legation at Bucharest has doubtless reported to the Department, Dr. Hodźa, the Czechoslovak Prime Minister, arrived in Bucharest on the 15th instant on an official visit in return, so it is stated, for a visit which the Roumanian Prime Minister paid to Prague some months ago.

On June 17th, Mr. Stoyadinovitch, the Yugoslav Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs

joined

joined Mr. Hodźa and Mr. Tataresco on a boat on the Danube and the three Prime Ministers of the Little Entente had a long conversation. Mr. Antonesco, the Roumanian Minister for Foreign Affairs, was also present at this conference. At the close of the conference Mr. Tataresco made a statement, a translation of which is enclosed herewith, emphasizing as usual the complete solidarity and unity of points of view of the members of the Little Entente.

An official communiqué, a translation of which is also enclosed herewith, was issued by the three Prime Ministers. This document states that the Ministers discussed the political and economic problems effecting their three countries and reached complete unanimity. They were also united in a wish to further improve the relations between the three countries, and confirmed their present policy which continues to be directed toward the maintenance of peace and the defense of their frontiers. They agreed to continue their joint efforts to bring about cooperation between the States of the Danube Basin in collaboration with all interested powers. The communiqué closes by stating that the Ministers "again affirm their loyalty to the Covenant of the League of Nations and will never consent to any alteration of the Covenant which does not aim at the strengthening of the League."

This communiqué is, as is usual with such documents, very general in tone, but I learn from what I believe good authority that one of the points discussed was Baron von Neurath's recent visit to Belgrade

which,

which, coming shortly after the Yugoslav-Bulgarian and Yugoslav-Italian agreements, had aroused some misgivings among Yugoslavia's allies. It is also generally believed here that the relations of the Little Entente with Hungary were thoroughly discussed and that while all three states desire an agreement with that country, they nevertheless agreed to proceed jointly in trying to reach such an agreement. It is believed that Roumania and Czechoslovakia insisted upon this point as Yugoslavia's recent indications of a tendency to follow a rather independent foreign policy led them to fear that Yugoslavia might make an isolated agreement with Hungary, which would be a death-blow to the Little Entente. It is probable that the rearmament of Hungary was also discussed. It is a matter of general knowledge that this rearmament is going on, but it is my impression that the Little Entente countries will close their eyes to this action unless Hungary comes out with an official announcement to this effect. This I do not believe she will do at the present time unless sure of German and Italian support, and after the recent visits of the Italian and German Ministers for Foreign Affairs to Budapest she probably realizes that the time is not propitious for such an announcement.

In view of recent events in Russia, the Yugoslav press is convinced that the differing relations of the Little Entente countries with that country were discussed by the Prime Ministers, and the consistent refusal of Yugoslavia to have any dealings with Russia is highly approved.

As

As stated in the communiqué, plans for cooperation between the Danubian States was discussed, but apparently in a very general sense.

I have the honor to enclose herewith résumés of various articles from the Yugoslav press commenting upon the meeting on the Danube of the three Prime Ministers and dwelling upon the importance of that meeting which once again, it is reiterated constantly, shows the complete solidarity and identity of view of the countries of the Little Entente. In my opinion, however, one of the chief reasons of the meeting was an attempt on the part of Czechoslovakia and Roumania to restore this solidarity, which, I believe, has been seriously weakened, and to try to bring Mr. Stoyadinovitch, whose independent policy alarms his allies, again into line.

Respectfully yours,

Charles S. Wilson

Charles S. Wilson

Enclosures:

1. Statement of Roumanian Prime Minister.
2. Official Communiqué.
3. Résumés of press comment.

File No. 710.

CSW:HSB

Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch No. 773 of June 20, 1937,
from the American Legation, Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

Translation. Source: "Avala" June 18, 1937.

STATEMENT MADE BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF ROUMANIA, MR. TATARESCO

at the close of the Meeting of the three Prime Ministers of the Little Entente.

"This interview constitutes an important event in the history of the Little Entente. It is the first time that the Chiefs of the Governments of the Little Entente have met to deliberate upon the great interests which forever unite the three nations.

"I may summarize the conclusions of the deliberations in stating that the Little Entente constitutes today a strong and unified organism that no force in the world can weaken or check."

Dr. Tataresco denied rumors which try to present the Little Entente in a false manner (disintegration?):

"Once again I wish to dissipate these stories by declaring in the name of my colleagues: the nations of the Little Entente will never present to the world the spectacle of the Curiatii who were conquered one after the other because they had abandoned their common battle front."

Enclosure No. 2 to Despatch No. 773 of June 20, 1937, from the American Legation, Belgrade, Yugoslavia.....

Translation. Source: "Avala", June 18, 1937.

OFFICIAL COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AFTER THE MEETING OF THE THREE PRIME MINISTERS OF THE LITTLE ENTENTE ON JUNE 17th.

The meeting which took place on the Danube on board the ship "Regele Carol II" between Mr. Stoyadinovitch, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, Mr. Hodža, Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, Mr. Tataresco, Prime Minister of Roumania, and Mr. Victor Antonesco, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Roumania, furnished to the statesmen of the three allied countries an occasion to have uninterrupted conversations in the course of which they have reviewed the political and economic problems of the countries of the Little Entente.

They have noted their perfect agreement on all questions which were examined, as well as their desire to draw closer and strengthen the ties which unite the three nations by the coordination of their cultural relations and by an action of intense cooperation in all the domains which correspond so well to the spirit of solidarity with which the three nations are so profoundly animated.

They have at the same time confirmed the aims of the political action of their countries which remain unchanged, the maintenance of peace and the defense of their frontiers within the framework of their friendships and alliances.

They have also agreed to continue their concerted action for the realization of the cooperation of the States of the Danube Basin in collaboration with all powers interested therein.

The three Chiefs of Government wish to state again their deep attachment to the Pact of the League of Nations whose principles form the base of their mutual collaboration, as well as of their relations with other States and that they will not accept any modification of the Pact which is not of a character to strengthen it.

The three Chiefs of Government have noted the unity of views which reigns among them and they have been happy to be able to emphasize that the entente and solidarity have shown themselves complete between the three nations which, following their collaboration, bring an important contribution to the consolidation of peace.

Convinced

Convinced of the utility of periodic meetings, the three Chiefs of Government have decided to hold meetings in turn in their respective countries.

The meeting of the three Chiefs of Government has again shown the unity, force and vitality of the Little Entente.

Enclosure No. 3 to Despatch No. 773 of June 20, 1937,

from the American Legation, Belgrade, Yugoslavia....

Translation. Source: "Avala", June 17, 1937.

PRESS COMMENTS UPON THE MEETING AT KLADOVO

OF THE PRIME MINISTERS OF THE LITTLE ENTENTE.

The "Vreme" writes in an editorial that a tourist steamer will today be the object of great attention. On this boat floating on the Danube the three Prime Ministers of the Little Entente will take a look around the horizon of the general political situation and will trace for the Little Entente the path to be followed among intrigues and foreign interests.

Bucharest and Prague have already emphasized the especial importance of the meeting Tataresco-Stoyadinovitch-Hodźa. Belgrade associates itself with their points of view. Since the last meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Little Entente at Belgrade, numerous events have taken place. The three Prime Ministers, rich in personal impressions, wish at present, following an old tradition, to pool them. Mr. Hodźa, after his return from London, as well as Mr. Tataresco, after the important visits which he has received at Bucharest, have much to say. Finally, Mr. Stoyadinovitch will doubtless have something to add, after so much ink has been spilled in fixing the true significance of the visit to Belgrade of Baron von Neurath.

At Prague and at Bucharest, writes the "Vreme", this visit was interpretted as it should have been. Now that Mr. von Neurath is going to London on an official visit to the British Government, we hope that the other European capitals will view with more calm the activity of German diplomacy, whose Chief declared solemnly at Belgrade that his policy is aimed at the maintenance of peace in Europe.

The "Vreme" believes that the important events which are occuring in Soviet Russia cannot fail to be the subject of conversation between the three Prime Ministers, and the more so because each of the three States of the Little Entente has a special attitude toward Soviet Russia in conformity with the decisions taken at the meeting of the Little Entente at Bratislava. Czechoslovakia has an alliance with Russia; Roumania entertains normal relations with it; our attitude is entirely different, it is more free and the recent events which have taken place prove the wisdom of our conviction that Russia is a State that is not yet definitely formed. When the representative of Yugoslavia now speaks of the U.S.S.R., his attitude

and

and the reserves previously maintained will have a new and special justification. It cannot be denied that the attitude of Yugoslavia has been circumspect toward a state in constant fermentation, toward a state whose much vaunted army has given proof of serious internal dissensions and dangerous gangrenes. Friendly political groups abroad which urged us and the Roumanians toward an alliance with Soviet Russia, and which dragged Czechoslovakia into such alliance, must finally acknowledge the vain character of reliance on a disunited military organism. These groups are almost ready to repudiate this alliance and acknowledge their error. The arrival in Paris of the Chief of the German General Staff, General Beck, and his meeting today with the Chief of the French General Staff, General Gamelin, are very significant in this matter.

It should not be expected that the meeting on the Danube will produce something sensational or any change in the relations of the three States of the Little Entente. Mutual confidence will continue in the future action of the individual members as it should among independent states. A useful collaboration in the coming decisive years is only possible at this price. It is a fact that none of the three States of the Little Entente will be envious of the success of the others. On the contrary each will rejoice at the external and internal strength of its ally. Yugoslavia has respected this rule. Its broad collaboration has always been directed towards nations desiring peace in Europe.

On the Danube the representative of Yugoslavia can say openly to the representatives of Roumania and Czechoslovakia that blocs leave us indifferent, but that we have peace at heart. This is why we are convinced that today's meeting will be an important and useful consultation for the future.

The "Pravda" writes that the Little Entente continues its march with a firm, regular and unchanging step. Yugoslavia, Roumania and Czechoslovakia have formed, as our people and public opinion very well knew, a political and economic collaboration reaching the smallest details.

The Little Entente in its progress has always followed the straight path, never against anyone, always for peace. Nobody can make any reproach to our nation. We have never forgotten good neighborliness and collaboration with our neighbors. In this sense the Little Entente can only be proud. Its collaboration with the League of Nations has been during years active and always more intimate. It has been able to appreciate the success of the collective efforts endeavoring to avoid so many serious conflicts and always more strongly guarantee peace. Our nations, which welcomed with such joy the creation of the League of Nations, are still today making the greatest efforts for the collective strengthening of peace and the peaceful life of their peoples with other people and with their great friend and ally, France, who also today is making the greatest efforts for rapprochement

and

and peace among the European nations.

We have today the special pleasure, while pointing out the importance of this conference, in expressing the hope that new efforts will be made and a new impulsion given to collaboration ever closer between the three friendly and allied countries.

The Prime Ministers of the three countries, writes the paper, will review the European situation. The Little Entente is devoted to a fruitful collaboration of the countries of the Danube Basin, a collaboration for the peace and well-being of our nations. The Chiefs of the Governments, Messrs. Stoyadinovitch, Hodźa and Tataresco, will study the same initiatives. Thus always in accord the Little Entente will be able again to adopt the best means for the security of our nations, of our people, the guaranty of peace and good relations between nations.

The "Novosti" of Zagreb, speaking of the meeting at Kladovo, says that this meeting coming after the visits of Mr. von Neurath to Belgrade, Sofia and Budapest, and of Mr. Hodźa to Bucharest, has a special political significance. The paper points out that the cause of the Little Entente is developing at present towards a total breaking loose from blocs, as well as towards a closer rapprochement between it and the other States of Central Europe, and a loyal collaboration with the Great Powers interested in the Danube Basin.

The article also points out that Yugoslavia has important relations with the Reich and that such a situation permits it to play an important and useful role in the settlement of questions in Central Europe. It points out that at Prague it is recognized that the visit of Mr. von Neurath to Belgrade is of great interest and that Belgrade has an important role as intermediary. Also it is recognized at Prague that the attitude adopted by Mr. Stoyadinovitch has been loyal and that its aim has been to contribute to the realization of common aspirations, having in view the organization and independence of Central Europe.

The meeting of the Prime Ministers of the Little Entente will have a great influence not only in strengthening the bonds between the States of the Little Entente, but also on their common attitude concerning organization and common action on existing questions. The attitude of Yugoslavia and its position are unchangeable and Yugoslavia does not desire any change; on the contrary it desires only to use its strength in the service of the organization of peace and of the friendly settlement of international questions.

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DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 740.00/199 FOR despatch #82

FROM Poland (Biddle) DATED July 15, 1937
TO NAME

1—1127 GPO

REGARDING: Aims of Poland to break up the Little Entente

Apprehension current that - through her alliance with Rumania, and to head a revised group of States consisting of Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia and possibly Bulgaria.

dg

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GMB

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MBo
This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone (B)

~~Budapest~~(part air)

FROM ~~Dated~~ September 2, 1937

~~Rec'd 6:06~~ a.m., Sept. 4.

DIVISION OF
SEP 7 1937
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Secretary of State,

Washington.

39, September 2, 7 p.m.

Legation informed by Foreign Office that Hungarian Government requested by Little Entente few days before the Sinaia Conference to state Hungarian demands which would have to be met to bring about rapprochement between Hungary and the states of the Little Entente. Hungarian Minister at Bucharest ordered to Sinaia where he spoke with representatives of Little Entente. As nearly as can be ascertained at present Hungarian basis of negotiations would be a non-aggression agreement in return for Hungary's right to rearm and written guarantees of better treatment for Hungarian minorities in the Little Entente states.

Article by Foreign Minister Kanya in today's PESTER LLOYD states that "it is inconceivable that the road to a rapprochement may be profitably prepared by negotiation" as long as the minority question remains unsettled.

Article also states that "the three governments demand certain ~~guarantees~~ guarantees from Hungary" in connection with Hungary's

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Hungary's militar· equality. Kanya states that Hungary is ready to offer such guarantees but in return must insist upon the guarantees for the Hungarian minorities.

The impress ion here is that Hungarian statement was well receivi d at Sinaia, particularly the willingness of Hungary to consider non-aggression agreement. Informal negotiatic as will continue and if possibility of agreement seems good further conversations will take place at League me ting in Geneva. Kanya going to Geneva about September 14th.

Rumors that British Government putting pressure on Little Entente to come to agreement with Hungary emphatically denied to me by British Legation. Copy of foregoing to Bucharest, Praha, Belgrade, Geneva.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL. British Military Attache in Budapest has confidential information that tanks and aeroplanes will be shown at the forthcoming Hungarian maneuvers. British Legation understands that to prevent such unilateral action the Hungarian Foreign Office very anxious to come to immediate agreement with the Little Entente which will recognize Hungarian right to rearm.

TRAVERS

GW:PEG

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

September 11, 1937

Comments on Despatch No. 813 from
Legation at Belgrade, August 26, 1937

Subject: Conference of the Little Entente

This despatch reports that the Yugoslav press, which is inspired by the Government, played up the importance of the Little Entente prior to the meeting of its Permanent Council at Sinaia. The Legation is inclined to believe that Yugoslavia is somewhat closer to the single policy of the Little Entente than it was six months ago.

This may be true, but Rome has not been indifferent to its ameliorated relations with Belgrade--witnessed by the efforts for a rapprochement between Hungary and Yugoslavia, which resulted in the relaxation of the tension between Hungary and the three Little Entente powers at Sinaia a few days ago. It is likely that Belgrade received its cue regarding relations with Hungary from Rome.

Furthermore, Vitetti told me that Stoyadinovitch, during the course of the negotiations of the Italo-Yugoslav treaty of last March, said to him that his Government did not consider the Little Entente "practical". If Germany attacked Czechoslovakia, how could

Yugoslavia

Yugoslavia go to the latter's aid, he asked. Inasmuch as Yugoslavia has also bettered its relations with Bulgaria, it looks as if Belgrade is playing an independent game, but is not averse to making use of whatever political prestige it can attach to itself through the Little Entente.

R. D. C.

cor
Eu:RDC:LF

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 813. Belgrade, August 26, 1937.

Subject: Conference of the Little Entente.

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SEP 8 1937
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
SEP 16 1937
MR. WILSON

770.00/483 GDG

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that the Belgrade press, momentarily turning its attention from the hitherto engrossing internal political situation, is now engaged in building up the importance of the meeting of the Permanent Council of the Little Entente, which is to be opened on August 30, 1937, at Sinaia, Roumania.

Various editorials have appeared to the effect that once more the Little Entente will demonstrate its

complete

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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SEP 15 1937
ASSISTANT SECRETARY'S OFFICE

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SEP 17 1937

complete unanimity of views and unanimity of policy. It is also repeated that the Little Entente, together with the Balkan Entente, constitutes a cohesive unit for the maintenance of peace. Especially is it stressed that the forthcoming meeting assumes an added importance in view of the fact that the European situation and the world situation are influenced by open and latent conflicts, which must be settled if general peace is to be maintained. A big point is made of the fidelity of the Little Entente to ancient alliances and traditional friendships.

The editorial in the "Samuprava", the official organ of the Government party, states in part:

> "The cause behind the strengthening of these ties (between the States of the Little Entente) is found in the development of the Little Entente, which has passed from a purely defensive stage to a constructive one.... it should be stressed that the Little Entente has a single foreign policy, a policy which has been steadfastly pursued ... the Little Entente is sufficiently elastic to take into account the particular interests of its member States, but these interests conform to the single foreign policy and the primary foundation of the Little Entente."

and continues that the activity of the revisionists has failed through the united efforts of the Little Entente.

Depending upon their interests, my colleagues attach great or little importance to the meeting of the Permanent Council of the Little Entente. As has been reported, it would appear that Yugoslavia has played and is continuing a foreign policy semi-independent of that of the other two members of the Entente, notably the slight drift towards the Berlin-Rome axis and the <u>rapprochement</u> with Bulgaria. However, I am inclined to

believe

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 764.00/60 FOR #792

FROM Hungary (Travers) DATED Aug. 24, 1937

TO NAME

1—1127 ofo

REGARDING: Interview given by Foreign Minister de Kanya to Mr. Jules C. Silber of the North American Newspaper Alliance. Translation of- Mr. de Kanya stated that no serious negotiations may be imagined between Hungary and the Little Entente States without satisfactory settlement of Minority problem.

mb

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

MEMORANDUM

September 25, 1937

Summary and Comments on Despatch No. 819 from Belgrade Legation, September 3, 1937

Subject: The meeting of the Little Entente Council at Sinaia as viewed from Belgrade

Yugoslav "sources of information" state that the attempted rapprochement with Hungary might mean a positive advance to the realization of the Hodza plan of Danubian economic cooperation. Parenthetically it can be said that the Czechoslovak Premier's enthusiasm for his scheme has not so far borne the fruit he desired, except in so far as regards Czechoslovak-Rumanian trade. The benefits enjoyed by her two partners in the Entente have not as yet accrued to Yugoslavia. The Legation at Belgrade says "all agree that under present conditions the economic rapprochement of the states of the Little Entente, of and with the remaining states of the Danube basin, in cooperation with Germany and Italy, is nearing realization." (This opinion appears to be somewhat optimistically based on certain statements in the official communiqué made at Sinaia).

Yugoslavian opinion is to the effect that the recognition of the Italian conquest

of

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

of Ethiopia is desirable from the standpoint of relations with Italy but that the Little Entente cannot take final action before the League of Nations.

In spite of the remarks in the communiqué concerning the lessening of tension in the European situation, Belgrade thinks that conditions are too unsettled to announce any policy other than the traditional one. Because of the uncertain political values the states concentrated on economic collaboration, and with this in mind voiced approval of the Secretary's statement of July 16.

R. D. C.

Eu:RDC:LF

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 819. Belgrade, September 3, 1937.

Subject: Conference of the Little Entente.

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ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
SEP 29 1937
MR. WILSON

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
SEP 28 1937
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

770.00/485

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

note

I have the honor to refer to my despatch No. 813 of August 26, 1937, in regard to the meeting of the Permanent Council of the Little Entente at Sinaia, Roumania, on August 30 and 31, 1937, and to enclose herewith a translation of the official communiqué issued at the close of the meeting.

As was expected the communiqué stresses the complete identity of point of view of the three States,

notably

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notably as regards adherence to the League of Nations and traditional friendships, advocation of wider economic collaboration among themselves and throughout the entire Danube basin, agreement with the principles of international cooperation voiced by the Secretary of State, and opposition to revision of existing treaties and frontiers without the consent of all interested parties. The communiqué did not, however, mention specifically the more realistic problems faced by the three States: relations with Hungary, relations with Italy and the question of recognition of the Ethiopian conquest, the attitude toward the Rome-Berlin axis, et cetera.

Sources of information at Belgrade contribute the following remarks anent the discussion of the above problems.

There is ground for belief that agreement was reached as to the gradual rearmament of Hungary, that this would not be too strongly opposed if definite guarantees to the States of the Little Entente would be forthcoming, possibly a non-aggression pact. There has been in the past six months a noticeable tendency towards closer relations with Hungary and, so long as the latter does not stress too strenuously revision of frontiers, the three States might well concede something in the line of rearmament. In addition, a slight concession to Hungary now might bring about a positive advance towards the ultimate realization of the "Hodźa Plan" for the Danube basin.

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It is likewise believed that the three States found that recognition of the Italian Empire; i.e., the conquest of Ethiopia, was desirable from the standpoint of relations with Italy but that, as the Little Entente must necessarily continue to adhere to the League of Nations and to the principle of collective security, no formal action should be taken in advance of action by the League. Yugoslavia, and possibly Roumania, would not be unwilling to further friendship with Italy but the Little Entente as a unit would take no collective action which would even appear to indicate a drift towards the Rome-Berlin axis.

It is further believed that, despite the mention in Section I of the communiqué of symptoms of an easing in the general European situation, the Little Entente found the international situation too unsettled to announce any policy other than the traditional one. In so far as possible relations with France, Great Britain, Germany and Italy, with the States of the Balkan Entente, must be maintained and strengthened, to avoid any further separation into ideological groups. Having in mind present uncertain political values, the three States emphasized economic cooperation and collaboration as a means to reduce political friction, thus voicing approval to the statement of the Secretary of State of July 16th.

In summary, in Belgrade it is felt that the Little Entente, faced with repeated appearances of foci of danger to European and world peace,

presented

presented a more united front than for many months in the past. However, in certain circles it is still believed that, if it were not for these unsettled conditions, Yugoslavia would have continued its drift away from the Little Entente and from its "traditional" friendship with France. But all agree that, under present conditions, the economic rapprochement of the States of the Little Entente, of and with the remaining States of the Danube basin, and in cooperation with Germany and Italy, is nearing realization.

Respectfully yours,

Charles S. Reed II,
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

Enclosure:

· Communiqué issued at Sinaia, August 31, 1937.

File No. 710.

CSR:HSB

Enclosure to Despatch No. 819 of September 3, 1937, from the American Legation at Belgrade, Yugoslavia.....

Translation.

OFFICIAL COMMUNIQUE PUBLISHED
AFTER THE CLOSE OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE PERMANENT
COUNCIL OF THE LITTLE ENTENTE IN SINAIA.

The Permanent Council of the Little Entente met in regular session at Sinaia on August 30 and 31, 1937, under the Presidence of Mr. Victor Antonescu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Roumania, who will assume the functions of President of the Permanent Council during the year to come; Yugoslavia was represented by Dr. Milan Stoyadinovitch, President of the Council of Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Czechoslovakia by Dr. Camille Krofta, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

I.

The detailed exchange of views, which took place between the three ministers, both as regards the present international situation and the various problems which are of special interest to the three States, has established the identity of opinion on all problems studied and also their full agreement to continue to strengthen the activity of the Little Entente, in accordance with the aims of the Council and the parallel interests of the three States involved.

The Little Entente has decided to remain faithful to the policy followed consistently during the last 17 years.

The three ministers are happy to have been able to come to the conclusion that - notwithstanding certain alarming facts - symptoms of some amelioration in the general situation in Europe, symptoms already noticeable during the last session held in Belgrade, tend to indicate that one may hope for an appeasement which may be followed by a period of calm, during which peace in Europe will be guaranteed.

Whatever the further development of the situation may be, the Permanent Council of the Little Entente has firmly decided not to spare any effort to contribute to any action susceptible of consolidating peace by improving international collaboration.

II.

The Council is moreover determined to actively continue, as was the case before, its collaboration in the work of the League of Nations in the fields of politics, economy and of social and humanitarian activities. The

policy

policy of the States of the Little Entente will continue to be invariably inspired by the principles of the Pact, the latter being the foundation of all hopes for stability and peace.

As regards the question of a possible revision of the Pact, the Permanent Council again confirms its point of view that there is no place for a revision and, moreover, that one should bear in mind the fundamental provisions of the Pact, in order to reinforce them and to adapt them by the experience gained in the past.

III.

With regard to negotiations looking toward a new Locarno Pact, the Council maintains its attitude that no new Pact can contribute to the establishment of an efficient regime of peace in Europe, if it is not in conformity with a system of securing insuring peace in other parts of the world.

Iv.

The Permanent Council again emphasizes the resolution of the three States to maintain strictly an attitude of non-intervention, which they have since the beginning pursued with respect to events in Spain, and to continue to contribute to any organization of control designed to avert the danger of an international conflict.

The States of the Little Entente remain faithfully attached to the principle of the independence of nations, which must remain free to choose for themselves the internal regime which suits them best. Should this principle not be universally respected, serious conflicts may ensue, it is feared, as a result of a transposition on international ground of ideological and doctrinal divergencies.

V.

The Permanent Council was pleased to note that the United States of America have, through the official declaration made on June 16, 1937, by Mr. Hull, the Secretary of State, made a precious contribution to the work of peace and international collaboration. As the policy of the States of the Little Entente has always been inspired by the principles, so precisely and sincerely proclaimed by the United States of America, the Permanent Council greets with full sympathy this declaration of Mr. Hull, which forecasts the possibility of political and economic collaboration of European States and the Great Republic over the Sea.

The Permanent Council particularly points out its complete identity of views on the subject of inviolability of treaties. Interests of peace and tranquility demand that it be so and also that the problem of the possible amendment of a treaty never be discussed and, still less settled, without a formal agreement to and free acceptance of by all interested States.

VI

VI.

The Permanent Council has given special attention to the problem of political and economic relations between the States of the Little Entente and States of the Danube basin and has noted the unanimous wish that such relations develop in a spirit of confidence. The States of the Little Entente has in this respect availed themselves of every opportunity to show their good will.

VII.

The Permanent Council notes with satisfaction that trade relations between the States of the Little Entente are steadily enlarging. It is convinced that the trade agreement recently concluded between Yugoslavia and Roumania will likewise result in a sensible increase in the volume of business between the two countries.

On the other hand the Permanent Council appreciates the activities of the Economic Center in Prague and notes that some notable results have already been achieved and expresses its conviction that this body is destined to adhieve in the future even more advantageous results.

As regards the collaboration of the countries of the Danube Basin, the Permanent Council has been informed of preliminary work and has determined the method to be followed in order to reach the purposes envisaged.

The Permanent Council views with considerable sympathy the mission which, through the initiative of France and Great Britain, was undertaken by Mr. Van Zeeland, Presidant of the Belgian Government, with a view to studying the possibilities of a gradual improvement of the respective trades. Being convinced that a greater freedom in the domain of international trade will not only increase the volume of commercial exchange, and through that - general prosperity -, but will also enforce the feeling of solidarity between nations, the Permanent Council expresses its hope that the results of the investigation thus begun will eventually bring about the international action of economic disarmament.

In this respect the Permanent Council would like to point out the great importance which it attaches to the valuable suggestions contained in the letter of July 23rd addressed by H.M. King Leopold III to Mr. Van Zeeland, being convinced that these suggestions will be susceptible of improving international collaboration in economic and financial fields.

VIII.

The Permanent Council has decided to bring about shortly the conclusion by the three States of a Convention relating to the Legalization of Documents and their Value as Evidence, as was proposed by the Czechoslovak Government.

IX.

The next meeting of the Council of the Little Entente will take place in Geneva on the occasion of the session of the Assembly of the League of Nations.

~~HAT~~
~~PM~~
see Especially last paragraph
~~J.C.~~

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

MEMORANDUM

September 25, 1937

Despatch No. 427 from Legation at Bucharest, September 4, 1937

Subject: The Sinaia Conference as viewed by Bucharest

This despatch discusses in extenso the recent conference and encloses a translation of the communiqué issued at the close of the conference. This announcement commences with the usual statement about identic views of the three states and there is a certain amount of glib talk about the symptoms of amelioration of the European situation. Among other features of the communiqué were the point of view that the League of Nations should not be modified or "restored" at the present time; that the non-intervention policy in Spain should be continued; and a statement that the three countries remained bound to the principle of independence of nations "which must be free to choose within their states the regime which suits them". (In this connection it can be asked just how the Little Entente applies this principle with respect to the restoration of the Hapsburgs in Austria and Hungary).

The communiqué of course contained ~~derogatory~~ laudatory remarks about the Secretary's statement of July 16 and the Belgian contribution to economic cooperation.

M. Antonescu, the Foreign Minister, in reply

reply to a question by a foreign correspondent on the Czechoslovak-Russian pact, said that the Rumanian Government, far from disapproving the pact, can only consider it in a favorable manner.

As regards Hungarian affairs at Sinaia, the Legation said that the Hungarian Minister's presence at that town became a focus of interest. It should not be forgotten that the raison d'etre for the Little Entente is protection against Hungary, and with a general relaxation of bad relations and a reorientation of Yugoslav and Rumanian foreign policies, the Council found itself unable to concentrate on political affairs and featured economic matters in their place.

The Legation also transmitted translations of two speeches and numerous editorials on Sinaia. The Curentul (pp. 5 and 6, enclosure 5) made some rather interesting statements regarding the eventual clashing of German and Italian interests in Central Europe. Already Italy has improved its relations with Yugoslavia and Rumania, and there is nothing to prevent it from doing so with Czechoslovakia. Germany also is reaching out in this direction, but a stumbling block is Czechoslovakia, with whom it does not at present seem possible to become more friendly.

Whatever may be said of the Sinaia Conference, by avoiding political issues

it

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

it has been demonstrated that Rumania and Yugoslavia are preserving an elasticity of independent political action, whereas Czechoslovakia remains in an isolated position except for her relations with the other members of the Little Entente.

R. D. C.

Eu:RDC:LF

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 427 Bucharest, September 4, 1937.

Subject: Conference of the Permanent Council of the Little Entente at Sinaia, August 30-31, 1937.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
SEP 28 1937
DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
SEP 29 1937
MR. WILSON

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
PM/C
SEP 28 1937
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

Sir:

I have the honor to report that the Permanent Council of the Little Entente, comprised of the three Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Little Entente States, assembled in Rumania's popular mountain resort, Sinaia, on August 30th and 31st last for a regular meeting to review the international situation and examine together those problems of mutual interest. This conference derived unusual significance from the fact that it took place just prior to the meeting of the

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League Council and Assembly at Geneva, where the Little Entente will be expected to present a concerted view on the peculiar problems of the day, such as the Spanish and Mediterranean situation, a Western Locarno, the partition of Palestine, recognition of the Italian Empire and the Far Eastern conflict. In addition---and of more immediate interest to the Little Entente States---, it was generally anticipated that special attention would be given to the problem of the Danubian Basin, and particularly to that of improving relations with Hungary.

1/ A copy of the official program of the conference is enclosed herewith.

Following the usual pattern, a communiqué was

2/ issued at the close of the meeting (copy enclosed) which, briefly summarized, contained the following points:

1. The three Ministers noted a complete accord and perfect identity of views, and the three States are determined to remain loyal to the well known policies of the Little Entente looking to the consolidation of peace.

2. The Permanent Council is resolved to continue faithful collaboration with the League of Nations, which should not be modified other than by reenforcing its fundamental principles.

3. A new Locarno would contribute to peace only if made to harmonize with a system assuring peace in other regions.

4. The Little Entente pursues a policy of strict non-interference in the Spanish conflict.

5. The Council warmly endorses the principles recently enunciated by the American Secretary of State, emphasizing especially its agreement regarding the sanctity of treaties.

6. The Little Entente States will neglect no opportunity to develop collaboration in the Danubian Basin.

7. An increase in commercial exchanges among Little Entente States is observed with great satisfaction. The Council looks with full sympathy on the Van Zeeland mission and

the

the suggestion of King Leopold regarding international economic and financial collaboration.

8. The Little Entente States will proceed as soon as possible with the conclusion of a convention regarding the legalization of documents.

9. The next meeting of the Council will take place in (this) September at Geneva.

No new departures in Little Entente policy are found in this unusually long communiqué, although there can be noted from the enthusiastic references to your declarations of July 16th last (reported in telegram No. 21 of September 1, 11 a.m.) a definite quickening of interest in the possibilities of increased world cooperation, in the economic as well as in the political field. This same interest is apparent in the reference to the Van Zeeland mission.

Following the issuance of the communiqué, Mr. Antonescu gave a statement to the press which, besides carrying the usual polite expressions, went out of its way to speak of the solidarity of the two Ententes, the Little and the Balkan, and did not forget to add that "nothing could injure or destroy the spiritual
3/ affinities which unite us" with France. A translation of Mr. Antonescu's remarks forms an enclosure hereto.

Of far more interest than his statement, however, was Mr. Antonescu's reply to a question put by a foreign correspondent as to whether the Czechoslovak pact with the Soviet Union in any way disturbs Little Entente relations. He said:

"The Rumanian Government---far from disapproving the pact between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union---can only consider in a favorable manner this tie between Czechoslovakia, friend and ally, and Rumania's greatest neighbor State, with which she maintains good relations of neighborliness and friendship."

At

At the gala dinner given at the close of the conference Foreign Minister Antonescu proposed the toast
4/ and Mr. Krofta replied. Translations of these speeches, which contained nothing of particular interest, are enclosed herewith.

A number of diplomatic representatives danced attendance at Sinaia during the conference, notably the Italian Minister, who had the excuse of securing the Stoyadinovitch signature to the Italo-Yugoslav-Rumanian air convention (Consulate's Weekly Economic Report of September 2, 1937, page 8), and the Hungarian Minister, László de Bárdossy. When the latter was received by each of the Little Entente Foreign Ministers one after the other he naturally "stole the show" and this unheard-of-spectacle of open Little Entente-Hungarian conversations became the focus of interest.

It can not be forgotten, of course, that the raison d'être of the Little Entente is protection against Hungary. In recent months there have been several signs on both sides of a desire for rapprochement (see, for example, despatch 326 of April 19, 1937), but the differences have been too great to allow more than modified newspaper polemics and carefully worded allusions in public addresses. Now, however, there is an appearance of coming to grips with the problem and it is assumed that, on instructions from his Government and probably at the invitation of the Little Entente, Mr. Bárdossy journeyed to Sinaia to place before the Little Entente Ministers Hungary's premises to the

negotiation

negotiation or development of a rapprochement.

Although the course of the Sinaia conversations has not become known, it seems safe to assume that Hungary will persist in her demands for equality in armament and better treatment of her minorities abroad. The points on which the Little Entente, with particular reference to Rumania, will probably insist are the non-permissibility of unilateral action toward rearmament and recognition of existing frontiers, with some form of guarantee of security. Since Hungary, advised by Italy, seems more and more disposed to abandon revisionist agitation, and it does not seem unreasonable to believe that the Little Entente States might be led to discuss a possible modification of the treatment of minorities, commentators here are beginning to hope that the obstacles to a rapprochement between these two hitherto bitterly opposed political factors may prove not to be insurmountable.

Extensive extracts from a few of the leading editorials on the work of the Sinaia Conference form the final enclosure hereto. 5/

The conference was preceded, as usual, by a meeting of the representatives of the Little Entente Press.

Respectfully yours,

Frederick P. Hibbard,
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

Enclosures:
1. Official program
2. Communiqué
3. Antonescu's statement to press
4. Speeches at banquet
5. Extracts of leading editorials.

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Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch
No. 427 of September 4, 1937
from American Legation at
Bucharest, Rumania.

OFFICIAL PROGRAM OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE PERMANENT COUNCIL OF THE LITTLE ENTENTE AT SINAIA, AUGUST 30-31, 1937.

August 30

9:00 a.m.	Arrival of Messrs. Stoyadinovitch, President of the Yugoslav Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Kamil Krofta, Czechoslovak Minister for Foreign Affairs.
10:30 a.m.	Mr. Stoyadinovitch signed the King's books at the Pelesh Castle.
10:45 a.m.	Mr. Krofta signed the King's books at the Pelesh Castle.
11:00 a.m.	First session of Permanent Council of the Little Entente.
1:30 p.m.	Lunch at the Palace Hotel.
5:00 p.m.	Second session of the Permanent Council of the Little Entente.
8:45 p.m.	Dinner at the Palace Hotel.

August 31

10:30 a.m.	Third session of the Permanent Council of the Little Entente.
12:30 p.m.	Mr. Stoyadinovitch in audience with the King.
1:00 p.m.	Mr. Krofta in audience with the King.
1:30 p.m.	Lunch at the Foishor Castle.
5:00 p.m.	Fourth session of the Permanent Council of the Little Entente.
6:00 p.m.	Statements to the press at the Bureau of the Permanent Council of the Little Entente in the Palace Hotel.
8:45 p.m.	Dinner at the Palace Hotel given by Mr. Victor Antonescu.
10:45 p.m.	Concert in the theater hall of the Casino at Sinaia.
	At the termination of the concert the Yugoslav and Czechoslovak Ministers departed for their respective capitals.

In translation from DIMINEATA (The Morning) dated September 2, 1937.

Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch No. 42 of September 4, 1937, from American Legation, Bucharest, Rumania.

FULL TRANSLATION

COMMUNIQUÉ ISSUED AT CLOSE OF CONFERENCE OF PERMANENT COUNCIL OF LITTLE ENTENTE AT SINAIA, AUGUST 30-31, 1937

The Permanent Council of the States of the Little Entente met in ordinary session at Sinaia on the 30th and 31st of August 1937 under the Presidency of Mr. Victor Antonescu, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Rumania, who, beginning with this meeting and for the coming annual period, will assume the office of President of the Permanent Council; Yugoslavia being represented by Mr. Milan Stoyadinovitch, President of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Czechoslovakia by Mr. Kamil Krofta, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

1. The detailed exchanges of views to which the three Ministers proceeded, with regard to the present international situation as well as the particular problems directly interesting the three States, permitted the observation of a perfect unity of views on all questions examined and a complete agreement to continue and to intensify the action of the Little Entente in conformity with the objectives of the alliance and with the parallel interests of the States of which it is composed.

The Little Entente is decided to remain faithful to the consistent policy which it has pursued for seventeen years.

The three Ministers were satisfied to have been able to reach the conclusion that---in spite of certain disquieting factors---the symptons of amelioration in the European international situation, which were already noted at the time of their last meeting at Belgrade, appear to permit the hope of a détente that might be followed by a period of quiet which would assure peace in Europe.

Whatever the future evolution of the situation, the Permanent Council of the Little Entente is firmly determined not to spare any effort in support of any action which might have as the immediate objective the consolidation of peace by the improvement of international cooperation.

2. The Permanent Council is especially determined to continue in the same energetic manner as in the past its active collaboration in the task of the League of Nations, in the political as well as in the economic, social and humanitarian fields. The policy of the States of the Little Entente will continue faithfully to take inspiration from the principles of the Covenant, which form the basis of any hope of stability and peace.

As regards the questions of an eventual modification

of

of the Covenant, the Permanent Council again affirms its point of view that this is not the moment to proceed with modification, but that it would be necessary rather in the future to take into consideration certain means of placing in operation the fundamental provisions of the Covenant, which would assure its strengthening by adapting itself in the light of past experience.

3. With regard to the negotiations relative to the new Locarno Pact, the Permanent Council maintains its point of view that any new pact would be able to contribute in an effective manner to the institution of a regime of peace in Europe only if it were to harmonize with a system of security which would simultaneously assure peace in other regions.

4. The Permanent Council proclaims again the decision of the three States to maintain rigorously the attitude of non-interference which they adopted from the first moment with respect to events in Spain and to give their support to any control organization susceptible of removing the dangers of international conflict.

The States of the Little Entente remain faithfully bound to the principle of respect for the independence of nations, which must be free to choose within their states the regime which suits them. If this principle should not be universally respected, they fear grave conflicts would be produced by the transplanting to the international field all opposition of ideology and doctrine.

5. The Permanent Council has been happy to note that, by the official declarations which Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, made July 16th, the United States has made a new and valuable contribution to the cause of peace and of international cooperation.

The policy of the States of the Little Entente having always been inspired by the principles which the Government of the United States has just proclaimed in such a precious and sincere manner, the Permanent Council welcomes all the more favorably the declarations of Mr. Hull, which envisage the possibility of a new cooperation in the political as well as in the economic field, between the European States and the great Republic beyond the Atlantic.

The Permanent Council particularly points out how closely it is agreed in regard to the sacred character of the Treaties. The interests of peace and of tranquillity demand that it should be so and that any question relative to the eventual modification of a Treaty should not be able to be put and much less decided without the formal approval and free consent of all the interested States.

6. The Permanent Council has accorded special attention to the question of the political and economic relations of the States of the Little Entente with the other States in the Danubian Basin and has noted its

unanimous

unanimous desire to see these relations developed in a confident manner. The States of the Little Entente will neglect no opportunity to give proofs of their good will in this regard.

7. The Permanent Council notes with satisfaction that the commercial exchanges among the States of the Little Entente are on the path of continual increase. It is convinced that the Treaty of Commerce recently concluded between Yugoslavia and Rumania will not fail to have as a direct effect also a more noticeable increase in the volume of business between the two countries.

On the other hand, the Permanent Council appreciates the persistent activity of the Economic Center created at Prague, notes that certain favorable results have already been achieved and expresses the conviction that this organism is destined to give more and more useful results in the future.

Concerning the cooperation of the Danubian States, the Permanent Council, after having taken cognizance of the preparatory work, has established the procedure to follow in order to realize the proposed aims.

The Permanent Council looks with much sympathy upon the mission which---on the initiative of France and Great Britain---has been assumed by Mr. Van Zeeland, President of the Belgian Council, to proceed to an inquiry relative to the possibilities of attenuating progressively the restrictive commercial regimes. Convinced that a greater liberty in the international commercial field is destined not only to increase the volume of exchange and, consequently, the general well-being, but also to strengthen the sentiment of solidarity among nations, the Permanent Council expresses the hope that the results of the inquiry undertaken will determine an international action which might result in an economic disarmament.

In this connection, the Permanent Council wishes to stress the high value which it places upon the precious suggestions contained in the letter which His Majesty King Leopold III addressed, on July 23rd, to Mr. Van Zeeland, and is convinced that these suggestions will be able to lead to an amelioration in international collaboration in the economic and financial fields.

8. The Permanent Council is decided to proceed in the very near future to the conclusion by the three States of a convention regarding the legalization of documents and their probatory power, a project of which has been presented by the Czechoslovak Government.

9. The next meeting of the Permanent Council will take place in September at Geneva at the time of the Assembly of the League of Nations.

In translation from
DIMINEATA (The Morning)
dated September 2,1937.

Enclosure No. 3 to Despatch No. 427
of September 4, 1937, from
American Legation, Bucharest, Rumania.

FULL TRANSLATION

STATEMENT TO PRESS BY FOREIGN MINISTER ANTONESCU AT CLOSE OF LITTLE ENTENTE CONFERENCE AT SINAIA, AUGUST 31, 1937

You are aware of the communiqué in regard to our labors. I do not intend to comment upon it as I hope it is precise and complete. Most of you have been following the work of the Little Entente for a number of years, some even from its inception. The problems with which it is concerned are, therefore, extremely familiar.

I am confident that you are, as I, conscious of one fact to which I wish to draw your special attention: with every year that passes the alliance which unites us appears to integrate more intimately with our national life, with the conscience itself of our peoples. The idea of the Little Entente has penetrated into all social classes; its necessity is understood not only by intellectuals, politicians and leaders, but touches today the heart of our laborers, of our peasants. It is sufficient to recall to you, in this connection, the very warm and spontaneous reception of the population at Bratislava in September 1936, and the moving image of the Yugoslav and Rumanian peasants who, crowded along the two shores of the Danube, acclaimed last June the ship which carried the three Presidents of Council of the Little Entente and myself. Certain enthusiasms bring out a sincerity which does not deceive. I really felt that day that the vessel which moved up the river bore for all these men an unlimited hope, the joy of a common force.

Sentimental relations are often most significant: an alliance supported by the deep instinct rooted in peoples finds in this instinct the best guarantee of permanency and force. Today our task mirrors an imperative of the public opinion of our countries which no longer needs guidance, but, on the contrary, often guide us.

I extend here an appreciative greeting to the representatives of the Press of the Little Entente whose collaboration in our political task is especially active and fruitful. The press of the three countries has played a leading role in the growing strength of our organism. Due to its cooperation our alliance is not limited merely to exchange of views, to drafting texts; it extends, as I have shown, even to the heart of our peoples and has the living and enduring character of any political task that is based not only on the will of statesmen but on the unanimous adhesion of public opinion.

In the quality of acting President of the Permanent Council of the Little Entente, I wish very sincerely to thank the representatives of the foreign press who, coming to Sinaia, have borne witness to the importance which the public opinion of all countries attributes to our labors; they were able to note that the Little Entente, closely

united

united, pursues a policy whose aim is the maintenance of peace based on the stability of treaties.

The authority and the efficacy of this policy is powerfully strengthened by the ties which unite the Little Entente to the Balkan Entente. The solidarity of the two organisms is more than normally powerful and intimate because of the common presence of Rumania and Yugoslavia. This policy is based, in fact, on identical guiding principles, on the same ethical conceptions of international life. Peace through stability, through the respect of the rights of each one, through a fuller understanding and a broader cooperation among peoples, these are the aspirations which join five states and seventy million souls into an especially supple, harmonious and efficacious political system.

I wish to stress the great friendship which ties us to France, but I need not recall all the facts that justify it. It is not only the fact that her influence in the world is exercised in the service of peace, of international justice and of the right of self-determination of peoples, but it is also her genius, her own conception of the world, that are, today as yesterday, close to our soul and our feeling. Nothing could injure or destroy the spiritual affinities which unite us.

Finally, I wish to tell you how much Rumania has enjoyed receiving the two eminent statesmen who direct the foreign policy of her allies of the Little Entente and how much I congratulate myself upon this new personal contact with President Stoyadinovitch and Mr. Krofta. This contact has again permitted me to note that the moral unity, always closer, of the Little Entente is reflected in the cordiality and the intimacy of the relations of their Foreign Ministers. With much regret I part this evening from my two colleagues after the all-too-brief hours we have passed together. I leave, I can say, two great friends, because the most precious friendship is that which takes life from a common effort.

(After Mr. Antonescu had made his statement to the press, Mr. Stoyadinovitch addressed a few words of thanks to the Rumanian Government, to Mr. Antonescu and to the press on behalf of himself and Mr. Krofta, adding that they had nothing to add to Mr. Antonescu's declarations. Thereupon Dr. Fantisek Bauer, editor of the newspaper NARODNI POLITIKA of Prague, first referred to Mr. Antonescu's statement that there is no divergence in the views of the three States and then asked the Rumanian Foreign Minister whether the Czechoslovak Pact with the Soviet Union in any way disturbs the relations of the three Little Entente countries, to which Mr. Antonescu replied:)

"The Rumanian Government---far from disapproving the pact between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union---can only consider in a

favorable

favorable manner this tie between Czechoslovakia, friend and ally, and Rumania's greatest neighbor State, with which she maintains good relations of neighborliness and friendship."

(LE MOMENT, September 2, 1937.)

In translation from
DIMINEATA (The Morning)
dated September 2, 1937.

Enclosure No. 4 to Despatch No. 427
of September 4, 1937, from
American Legation, Bucharest,
Rumania.

FULL TRANSLATION

ADDRESSES DELIVERED BY FOREIGN MINISTERS ANTONESCU AND KROFTA AT LITTLE ENTENTE BANQUET AT SINAIA, AUGUST 31, 1937

In greeting this evening the chiefs of the foreign policy of the Yugoslav Kingdom and of the Czechoslovak Republic, whom we are happy to have among us, I wish to recall that this is the Third Conference of the Little Entente which Sinaia has had the honor of seeing held: in fact, the present one was preceded by the one of July, 1923, when our organism was still on its first legs, the one of September, 1933, which followed soon after an important event in the history of the Little Entente, its transformation into a perpetual institution by the conclusion of the pact of organization of February 16, 1933.

Sinaia, the summer residence of our Kings, is a place very close to the heart of the Rumanians; the Carpathians have been the cradle and the shelter of our race; the Prahova Valley is one of the principal ties of union between Wallachia and Transylvania, one of the paths which formerly maintained contact between the arbitrarily separated groups of our peoples.

For this reason we are especially happy that the Little Entente comes back here, that it finds again a familiar setting, in a word, that it feels at home here.

But is it not everywhere the same, in Czechoslovakia and in Yugoslavia, as in Rumania? Nowhere on the soil of our three peoples are the representatives of the other two countries foreign.

The Little Entente is not simply superimposed upon our individual patriotisms, it has in truth become integrated with our national life; because it is not the result of a political combination or of passing calculations, but the expression of the perfect harmony of our most profound interests, of a permanent synchronism of the march ahead of the three peoples.

Inscribed in the history of our struggles toward the same objective, against the same hostile forces, it existed in fact before it was concluded.

For this reason the Little Entente has developed and strengthened continually during its seventeen years of existence, for this reason we can smile when there is periodic talk of its weakness. Its solidarity, its future, are sheltered from any surprise, because the Little Entente is but the logical expression of a command of history.

Another guarantee of its durability is its loyal and indisputable pacifism. Our only aim---and no one can attribute any other---is to defend the act of justice which has given to this part of the world a formation that conforms to the living realities and the

secular

secular aspirations of our peoples.

In a Europe which can be irremediably ruined by a new conflict, we constitute, alongside those who wish to maintain peace, one of the best and most solid instruments toward this end.

We have proved this by unreservedly sustaining for seventeen years the policy of the League of Nations. In spite of the difficulty of its considerable task, which we realize, we have done it and we continue to do it because the Little Entente constitutes an irreplaceable international organism and one of the great hopes of humanity.

The Little Entente finds in the Covenant principles identical with those that guide its own action and I am convinced that the solutions of future problems will be found along the path indicated by Geneva.

That which must be realized is a sincere and enduring international collaboration. I still have hope that this collaboration will ultimately be accepted by all.

Concerning Europe, at least, we were happy to note that one can see a desire for a détente which may soon, we hope, improve the international climate.

As always, the Little Entente is ready to put at the service of conciliation and of a better mutual understanding among European States the considerable political force which it represents. My eminent colleagues and I are ready to devote all our strength to the achievement of this end.

That is why these periodic reunions are so precious to us, why, in the face of the international situation, in continual evolution and full of so many contradictory elements, it is indispensable for us to confer on fixed dates. For me the value of these meetings is inestimable: the cordiality, the confidence without reserve which characterize them, the parallelism which I note as to our essential interests, leave me each time with the vivifying sentiment of our force and our solidarity. Each time I draw from them a new lesson of optimism and confidence.

I raise my glass to the health of His Majesty King Peter II of Yugoslavia, to His Excellency Mr. Eduard Benes, President of the Czechoslovak Republic, to His Royal Highness Prince Regent of Yugoslavia and to the entire Regency, to the eminent and dear colleagues, Messrs. Milan Stoyadinovitch and Kamil Krofta, to the future and the prosperity of the friendly and allied Yugoslav and Czechoslovak peoples.

Reply of Mr. Krofta

To reply to the greeting of His Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Rumania is, this evening, a duty as simple as it is pleasant.

The

The sentiments of friendship which indefectibly unite the Czechoslovak people with the Rumanian and Yugoslav peoples are so well known that it is sufficient for me to mention it. And could I better define, than has my eminent and beloved colleague, Mr. Victor Antonescu, the entire community of ideas and principles which animates the foreign policy of our three countries and the complete identity of aims which it pursues?

Passing through Cluj the day before yesterday, I was thinking how forty years ago in this actual fortress of Rumanian thought in Transylvania, Slovak and Serbian lawyers and politicians came to defend, alongside the Rumanians, the famous Memorandum, this historic act which prepared the birth of the Free Great Rumania. Yes, my dear colleague, permit me to repeat your words: "Inscribed in the history of our struggles toward the same objective, against the same hostile forces, the Little Entente existed in fact before it was concluded."

And, dear Rumanian friends, permit me to say that Sinia does not belong to you exclusively. For us "The Pearl of the Rumanian Carpathians" is an additional witness to the growth of our organism. It is also a place very close to our heart, it is a sort of sacred mountain where, in the Sinaia Monastery, rests the first citizen of the Little Entente, which we pretend to constitute---the Great Take Ionescu, whose memory all our peoples preserve.

How well you said it, my dear colleague, that the Little Entente is the logical expression of a historic command. Loyal, indisputably pacific, it has always pretended to be nought but an instrument of collaboration among the peoples of Central Europe. More than ever, it is convinced that a single method will permit the world to issue from the present political and uneasy economic situation. That is, international cooperation.

The task is very clear; we have decided to realize it in this part of Europe in which our destiny constrains us to live. We want to find for all the peoples of Central Europe a definitive force of cooperation guaranteeing their independence and their legitimate interests, assuring their future prosperity on the basis of a full equality of rights and of duties.

We all three consider that this cooperation must be realized under the moral authority of an international organism. We therefore remain faithful to the idea of the League of Nations. Certainly, we know well that like so many human beings, the League of Nations must be perfected and the realities which escaped its founders must be considered. Does not humanity at each step of its evolution meet new problems and new burdens?

Entirely penetrated with the principles expressed

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in the Covenant at Geneva, the Little Entente is the best proof of the vitality of this institution which the world cannot get along without, under whatever form, if it wishes to assure the sacred respect of human personalities and of national individualities, the supremacy of justice and law.

I therefore share your optimism, my dear colleague, as concerns the future of our Little Entente, which, while assuring the defense of our essential interests, remains faithful to the policy of peaceful understanding among the nations of Central Europe and the peoples of the entire world.

In terminating, Mr. Minister, permit me to express to you all my thanks for the touching reception which you have given us and our Yugoslav friends and allies, with whom we were so happy to spend a few hours in your land in a cordial atmosphere that has contributed to the success of our labors.

Permit me, Mr. Minister, to raise my glass to the health of His Majesty King Carol II, to the health of His Majesty the King of Yugoslavia, Peter II, to His Royal Highness Prince Regent Paul and to the entire Regency, to the health of our eminent colleague, the President of Council, Mr. Stoyadinovitch, to your health, Mr. Minister and beloved colleague, and to the prosperity of our three friendly and allied countries.

In translation

Enclosure No. 5 to Despatch No. 427 of September 4, 1937, from American Legation at Bucharest, Rumania.

PRESS COMMENT ON CONFERENCE OF PERMANENT COUNCIL OF LITTLE ENTENTE AT SINAIA, AUGUST 30-31, 1937.

TIMPUL (independent, democratic, National Peasant leaning, August 29, 1937.

.....We will not insist upon the gravity of the circumstances. We know them: war rages in Spain and in China. "Indivisible" peace is torn into pieces and some are too happy who can choose a piece.

Will "non-intervention" in the China-Japan affair be added to the non-intervention in the affair of Spain? It is probable.

The Little Entente must consider these realities.

The League of Nations, under whose control we have placed ourselves with a loyalty and a devotion of which no one can show more proof, is being severely tried. A group of powerful states which have declared their solidarity do not recognize its authority. They deny the present international law. Tomorrow they will try to impose their law.

The Little Entente must consider this reality.

The equilibrium of forces in Danubian Europe has changed. There was a time when the States of the Little Entente, supported by the Western Powers, had a deciding voice. A time followed when the principal concern appeared to be the struggle against Magyar revisionism, supported by the Italian and German policy. Today, when Rome and Berlin, although rivals, divide between their growing powers zones of influence in the Danubian Basin, the problem is how will we be able to bring together, if there is still time, all the Danubian States to defend jointly, without thought of provocation or enmity against anyone, but with every decision, our independent and national being?

This is the third reality which the Little Entente must consider.

In the face of these realities usual formulas of "complete understanding" within the framework "of the general principles of the League of Nations" are not sufficient.

It is well to lean upon principles. But there is something else needed. Until yesterday we could hope that within the League of Nations we were alongside and together with the entire world. Let us examine today with whom we are left. We are left, above all, with ourselves. The security of the frontiers and our political authority depends on the separate powers of each of our states and on our united power. Let us therefore strengthen our powers, let us complete the union.

We

We are left, however, with other friends as well, who want peace like ourselves and defend interests similar to ours.

Alongside of us is Poland who, in spite of the differences of view which can and must be removed, forms part, naturally, of our system of defense. On the south we have our friends of the Balkan Pact. In the West is first France, which, aside from the sentiments of warm friendship which binds her to us, has a clear interest in seeing us as strong, as complete and as united as ever.....

CURENTUL (nationalistic, anti-semitic), September 2, 1937

As I have announced, the basic question under consideration in the conversations at Sinaia was the relations with Hungary.

It was the principal thing discussed, and for that reason Mr. Bardossy, the Hungarian Minister at Bucharest, was permanently in communication with Budapest and he informed Mr. Antonescu, President of the Council of the Little Entente, of the spirit and the conception of collaboration of the Hungarian Government.

It is a simple question: The Little Entente knows that Hungary has armed herself. Legalization of the right to arm is a pure formality. But it is a formality which helps a great deal toward a détente in the present relations between Budapest and the capitals of the Little Entente.

For the first time in the history of the Little Entente has something definitely new happened: The Little Entente replies to the invitations of confidence which Hungary offers us.

In turn, Hungary undertakes, even if she does not want to say it, to assume all moral obligations of such offers of confidence. Economic and political accords between our countries and Hungary were not possible because Hungary pursued a faulty policy of sterile revisionist agitation. The political discord delayed economic collaboration.

Today an experiment with Hungary is attempted: to verify the sincerity of her offers of collaboration by extending the spirit of confidence of the Little Entente. Perhaps parity of arms will be recognized.

The Little Entente has, in connection with Hungary, a sad recollection: revisionist propaganda, agitation of the optants, etc.

At the same time, however, it appears that a generous amnesty inspires the three Foreign Ministers of the Little Entente.....

In fact, at Sinaia the foundation was laid for collaboration between the Little Entente and her neighbors in Central Europe.....

LE MOMENT

LE MOMENT (independent, in French), September 2, 1937.

.....Let us judge, then, the speeches which were delivered last evening by Messrs. Victor Antonescu and Kamil Krofta at the end of the dinner which closed the work of the Permanent Council of the Little Entente.

They coincide perfectly.

Mr. Victor Antonescu spoke of "the similar objectives against the same hostile forces." Mr. Kamil Krofta, likewise.

Mr. Victor Antonescu said "the Little Entente existed, in fact, even before being concluded." Mr. Kamil Krofta repeated it.

Mr. Victor Antonescu considered "the Little Entente as the logical expression of a command of history." Mr. Kamil Krofta did the same thing.

Mr. Victor Antonescu is convinced that "only one method will permit the world to emerge from the present state of uneasiness and that is international cooperation." Mr. Kamil Krofta subscribed to it.

Mr. Victor Antonescu expressed his fidelity to the League of Nations. Mr. Kamil Krofta did the same. They identified themselves together even in their optimism.

On a single point only is Mr. Kamil Krofta able to claim the title of author. It is there where he said that Sinaia does not belong to us exclusively, since it has become the sacred mountain of the Little Entente.

If things are thus, let us then no longer speak of the "Petite" Entente, a name which was given ironically to this organism by a Hungarian newspaper. Let us say, more exactly and more in conformity to reality: PERFECT ENTENTE!

ADEVERUL (independent, democratic), September 2, 1937.

.....The official communiqué.....is of an unusual amplitude and shows the wealth of questions and problems which the three Ministers had under discussion. It surprises no one when they affirm that there is a complete unity of views of the three states with regard to all questions and it only confirms a truth well known that the Little Entente is in object and method profoundly pacific.

Public opinion will take note with satisfaction of the opinion of the three Foreign Ministers that in European politics an amelioration, a détente, is observed. They certainly have information which has other importance than that deduced from indirect sources, accessible to all. Appearances often deceive in public and international life as in private life.....

Like

Like the communiqué, the statement of Mr. Victor Antonescu made certain principles clear which a dangerous propaganda always attempts and often succeeds in concealing.

France's conception of the worl, its genius, were and still are manifested by the great victories of the French revolution. In proclaiming that "yesterday as today" they are close in spirit and aim to Rumania, Mr. Victor Antonescu cut short all the rumors and intrigues and dissipated the appearances created by a propaganda more noisy than efficacious, appearances which made the public opinion of the world believe that our country was navigating toward the muddy waters of a totalitarian regime, that it would rally to an ideologic front contrary to all the principles which made of the two vassal principalities a great country, powerful and respected everywhere.

L'INDEPENDANCE ROUMAINE(official organ, in French, of the National Liberal Party, September 3, 1937.

The official communiqué which was published at the close of the Conference at Sinaia, as well as the declarations made to the press by the Ministers of the Little Entente, had at least the merit of sincerity and clarity.

Evidently, no new idea was forthcoming since the alliance for so many years has followed, with tenacity and perseverence, a line of conduct and an invariable policy, the poles of which can be determined by the defense of peace and international cooperation.

Loyally attached to the League of Nations, the Little Entente rests convinced that the Geneva principles not only are just but that the Covenant of the League of Nations is the unique instrument capable of assuring general security. It follows that the tripartite alliance has not changed its point of view, considering that peace is indivisible and the shock of two enemy forces will always have the fatal consequence of drawing other forces into the game.....

The policy of the Little Entente has never been more unified and more in conformity with its brilliant past than it is today. Its homogeneity and its harmony have never been more perfect for the greater good of Europe and of universal peace than today.

PREZENTUL (economic organ of Virgil Madgearu, Secretary of National Peasant Party, September 3,1937.

The Conference of the Little Entente is a surprise for those who have closely followed the labors of the Conference.

From what was gathered in conference circles and from the final communiqué, as well as from the declarations of

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the three Ministers, a definite change in attitude toward the European powers is noticed. Particularly, the fact must be pointed out that in the final communiqué there is nothing said of an eventual recognition of the occupation of Abyssinia before France and England have had their say. Also, the declaration of Mr. Antonescu with regard to the Pact of Mutual Assistance between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia is extremely interesting. Finally, as in the past, a conciliatory hand is extended to Hungary and confidence in the League is again affirmed.

These happy results were certainly not obtained without difficulties. A serious collective effort was necessary in order to conciliate all the divergent points of view.

Thanks, however, to the determined attitude of Messrs. Krofta and Antonescu they could reach those decisions that have made the official communiqué possible and which appear to open new horizons in the policy of the Little Entente.

It is interesting to observe that more than ever before the present communiqué gives especial attention to the economic problems.

The noticeable change in attitude of one of the countries of the Little Entente constitutes an event which will not remain without results in European politics. Certain gestures on the part of one of the countries of the Little Entente, with a tendency toward a new political orientation, was met with the opposition of public opinion and of one of the great democratic powers.

The Conference at Sinaia also had the effect of pacifying the most pessimistic or suspecting spirits. Soon at Geneva European politics will feel the decision taken at Sinaia.

CURENTUL (nationalistic, anti-Semitic), September 4, 1937.

.....Preserving, apparently, the Geneva ritual, the Foreign Ministers of the three States could not ignore certain new aspects of international life. Up to now the Little Entente has had unlimited confidence in the authority of the League of Nations. They believed in its moral force to restrain the disturbing tendencies against peace and intimidation on the part of the aggressor. In less than two years the authority of the League of Nations has been torn to shreds on the battlefields of Abyssinia, on the civil war fronts of Spain.....A confession of impotency would be equivalent to prefacing a dissolution, and appearances must be preserved if the content has evaporated.

In the face of this spectacle the Little Entente could not but make a realistic examination of the situation, revise the points of support and make an inventory of its powers.

In

In the first place, we should not forget that taken as a whole the Little Entente represents, each year, an increase in military force; therefore, a constant increase of its international authority. Lacking completely any spirit of aggression, the Little Entente represents in Europe a growing peace tendency, I might say, a factor of European equilibrium.

This structure, exactly, facilitates somewhat rapprochements, removes asperities and makes certain precious contributions to international quiet.

The assiduous presence of the Italian Minister, as well as the active attention of the Hungarian Minister, was observed during the Conference at Sinaia. The explanation is that between the Little Entente and Italy has existed a single harsh element in their relations, the accentuated cooling between Yugoslavia and Italy; today, between Rome and Belgrade relations have been established that are even closer than between Rome and Bucharest. Removing what might have been irritating, seeking points of contact, possibilities of improving relations with Yugoslavia, Italy sought thereby a rapprochement with the Little Entente. Let us not lose sight, in deciphering external events, of certain constants in European politics.

No matter how close the ties between Rome and Berlin may be, no matter how often the interests of the two powers may harmonize either in Spain, or in the Mediterranean, or in the Far East, there still remains a silent, deep opposition as far as Central Europe is concerned, or, more exact, the Danubian Basin, which will remain permanently the sea of discord.....Can Italy look without concern on the monopolist expansion of Germany in Central Europe and the Balkans?

If Germany should succeed in including little by little in her zone of politico-economic influence the states along the Danube, Italy would be reduced in importance and even become a component element of the German force.....The permanent interests of Italy and Germany will clash fatally in Central Europe. A short-sighted policy, a sectarian policy which hinders the clear judgment of France (vassal of the social-Marxist ideology) in her foreign policy, only prolongs a friendship so contradictory in interests.

Italy has all the roads opened to the Little Entente; while Germany clashes with Czechoslovakia: the possibilities, therefore, of Italy are greater than that of Germany.

What in a certain measure prevents Italy? The policy of revisionist provocation, which has been completely sterile in results up to the present. Budapest is waking up, the revisionist narcotic no longer benumbs anyone and, for more than a year Rome has been making sensible efforts to convert Hungary to a more realistic policy, that of improving relations with the States of the Little Entente. A rapprochement between Hungary and the Little Entente signifies the game won by Italy in Central Europe.

Gained

Gained at whose expense? At the expense of Germany who will not be able to accept this expansion of Italy in Central Europe and then the Rome-Berlin axis will break.

In Central Europe there is in reality no struggle between France and Germany but a mad competition between Italy and Germany.

At Sinaia Italy has registered a gain over Germany.

PAMFIL SEICARU

ADEVERUL (independent, democratic), September 4, 1937.

.....Some circles expected that decisions would be taken at Sinaia, or, at least, that there would be de-defections of such a nature as to make it possible to present the Berlin-Rome political system before the European chancelleries as a moral success. For this reason there was talk before the Conference, in semi-official Italian sources, of an initiative of the Little Entente in favor of the recognition of the Italo-Abyssinian Empire; for this reason a slight diversion was attempted at the time of the Conference in connection with the negotiations for an air navigation arrangement with Italy.

The true political result was, under these conditions, an unpleasant surprise for the organizers of these rumors. The expectations were completely deceptive---in such a measure that after the Conference issued the communiqué, after the toasts were exchanged, and after the statement of Mr. Stoyadinovitch to the Dimineata, the best justification was found in the statement of Mr. Antonescu to the press when he said: the results of this conference are of a nature to make the friends of the Little Entente sincerely happy and really to sadden its adversaries.

In truth, the entire atmosphere of the Conference, the important negotiations behind the curtains, the special protocols which were signed, all these have proved that the Little Entente has sincerely returned to the policy of close collaboration of two years ago. There no longer exist divergencies or nuances of attitude or conception, nowhere is there any further manifestation in favor of certain special interests, and harmony has been restored in the face of the geographic and political imperatives out of which these alliances were born as one of the surest means of defending the frontiers and the political and economic independence of the three countries.

In the history of the Little Entente the Conference at Sinaia represents, therefore, an important chapter, a chapter which will be completed by the conference to be held next week at Geneva, where the practical results of the decisions taken under the presidency of Mr. Antonescu will be made known, inasmuch as the Little Entente will be called upon to express its views there on the great European problems on the agenda of the General Assembly. The Little Entente will affirm the

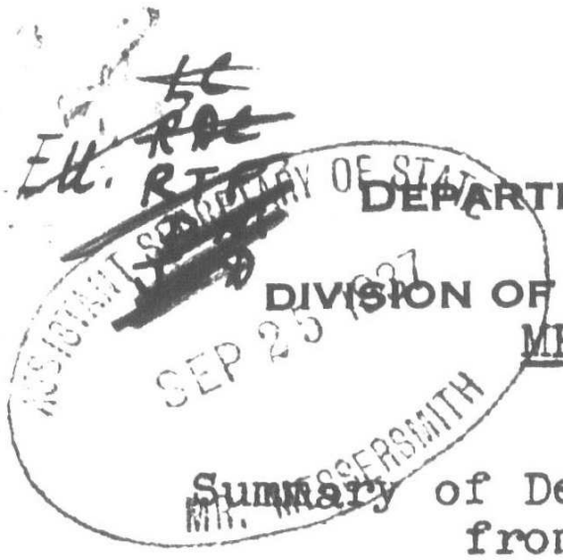
solidarity

solidarity of views and attitude at one of the most brilliant sessions of the League of Nations in the presence of the President of Council and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France, as well as Messrs. Chamberlain and Eden. The acting president of the Little Entente, Mr. Victor Antonescu, will be in a position to discuss with these high personalities of world politics the point of view of the Little Entente and to present the conclusions of the Conference at Sinaia.

He also will continue, in a spirit of conciliation but with complete respect for the national interests that guide the policies of the three allied states, the negotiations with the Hungarian Foreign Minister who will preside his country's delegation. The Little Entente will manifest then the will to make a happy beginning toward realizing collaboration among the Danubian countries under conditions which should satisfy all these countries without hurting the interests of the great powers interested economically in this region of Europe.

In general, it can be said that by the conclusions of the Conference at Sinaia the Little Entente has again reached that important point which will permit it to play a fitting role in the international concert and which will tend toward a more consistent shaping of its relations of collaboration alongside the great powers which represent on our continent stability of peace, intangibility of frontiers and the right of equality of all countries.

LIVIU P. NASTA.



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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

MEMORANDUM

September 22, 1937

Summary of Despatches Nos. 804 and 809 from Budapest

Subject: Hungarian-Little Entente Relations

Conversations took place at the end of August between Bucharest and Budapest in the hope of reaching a better understanding between the two Governments. Hungary appears to have been ready to sign a non-aggression treaty with Rumania provided the latter country would sign a guaranty to accord better treatment to the Hungarian minority in Transylvania. Relations between Hungary and Yugoslavia continue to improve, but with Czechoslovakia are worse than ever. There appears to be no possibility of the Czechs making any promises with regard to the treatment of Hungarian minorities in Czechoslovakia because they consider that the German minority would demand the same promises.

Conversations have been going on with separate states of the Little Entente, but not with that group as a unit.

Hungary's desire for minority guaranties is based on the legal position this would give them to protest to the League in the event of mistreatment. Without a signed promise Hungary has little hope of favorable consideration of minority matters by the League Council.

On

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

On September 1 Hungary was asked by the Little Entente to state her demands with regard to a possible rapprochement with the Little Entente. This approach was not prepared by preliminary conversations, but Hungary looks on this development as an advance. The Hungarian Minister at Bucharest was instructed to proceed to Sinaia, where he had various separate conversation with Little Entente Foreign Ministers.

While the exact terms of the Hungarian Minister's orders are not known. Information from reliable sources indicates that they were as follows:

1. There can be no negotiation about Hungarian military equality.

2. Nevertheless, according to an article by the Hungarian Foreign Minister in Pester Lloyd of September 2, Hungary is prepared to give "certain guaranties".

3. The most import problem from the Hungarian viewpoint is treatment of Hungarian minorities.

A Foreign Office official stated that the negotiations were to be transferred to Geneva for the present.

British Legation sources in Budapest have denied a rumor that Britain is putting any pressure on the Little Entente to reach an agreement with Hungary.

The

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

The possibility of individual agreements with the Little Entente states seems more promising than an agreement with the latter as a unit.

In despatch No. 809 Dr. Eckhardt is quoted as being pessimistic about any agreement because he asserts France once thwarted an understanding about minorities between Czechoslovakia and Hungary in an attempt to hold the Little Entente as the tool of France in the Danube. He therefore expects little result from the Geneva talks, nor any advancement in Hungarian relations with the Little Entente without pressure from London and Paris.

It is also stated that Eckhardt does not see any likelihood of Hungary taking a unilateral action about rearmament in the near future. Minister of Defense Roeder is disposed to follow Foreign Office wishes in this matter. However, frustration about rearmament and minorities might within two or three years bring about a dictatorial Government in Hungary which would take matters into its own hands (Eckhardt has long appeared to have an obsession about the possibility of a dictatorial regime in Hungary).

J. F.

Eu:JF:LF

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 804 Budapest, September 8, 1937.

SUBJECT: Rapprochement between Hungary and the Little Entente.

770.82

SECRETARY OF STATE
SEP 27 1937
NOTED

ADVISER ON POLITICAL RELATIONS
MR. DUNN
SEP 24 1937
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1937 SEP 21 PM 12 56
DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

SEP 29 1937

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
SEP 25 1937
MR. WILSON

770.00/487

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to the Legation's telegram No. 39 of September 2, 7 p.m. and to give the Department herewith more detailed information with regard to the reaction in Budapest to the Little Entente Conference which took place at Sinaia during the last days of August.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
SEP 28 1937
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

On

FILED
SEP 28 1937

On August 30th the Legation learned from Count Csáky, Chef de Cabinet of the Foreign Minister, that negotiations, or at least conversations, were taking place between Bucharest and Budapest in the hope of reaching a better understanding between the Rumanian and the Hungarian Governments. Csáky had the impression that the Rumanian Government would like to come to an understanding with Hungary, thereby strengthening its internal political position before the elections which are to take place in October. Csáky stated that the Hungarian Government was prepared to sign a non-aggression treaty with Rumania provided that the latter country, in return, would sign a guarantee to accord better treatment to the Hungarian minority in Transylvania.

Csáky said that relations with Yugoslavia continued to improve, but that with Czechoslovakia they are worse than ever. He said that he saw no possibility of any understanding at the present time between Hungary and Czechoslovakia. One difficulty which he sees, from the point of view of the Czechs, is the fact that, if they make any promises with regard to the treatment of the Hungarian minority in Czechoslovakia, the German minority will demand the same promises.

In

In the course of this conversation Csáky spoke of the relations with the separate States of the Little Entente, but gave no indication that any negotiations were taking place between Hungary and the Little Entente as a unit. In explanation of the Hungarian willingness to sign a non-aggression agreement with Rumania, he said that the Hungarian Government would like very much to have such a signed guarantee as it would give them a strong legal position to protest to the Council of the League of Nations in the event that the Rumanians should thereafter continue to mistreat the Hungarian minority. At the present time, he said, the Hungarians have very little basis for hope of a favorable decision by the Council as Germany and Italy are both absent from that body, leaving Great Britain the only one which might be prepared to give favorable consideration to the Hungarian position. If, however, Hungary could go to the Council with a signed promise from the Rumanians and could then prove that this promise was not being carried out, Csáky thought that the Hungarian Government's case would be very strong.

Count Semsey of the Political Section of the Foreign Office stated on September first that the Hungarian Government had been asked by the Little Entente to state Hungary's demands

with

with regard to a possible rapprochement with the Little Entente. This approach from the Little Entente came, according to Semsey, somewhat out of the blue and was not prepared by preliminary conversations. He said that the Hungarian Foreign Office looked upon this development as a considerable advance, in view of the fact that it is the first time that the Hungarian Government has been asked by the Little Entente to make such a statement.

Mr. Bárdossy, the Hungarian Minister to Bucharest, was then given his instructions and ordered to proceed to Sinaia where he had conversations with the various Foreign Ministers of the Little Entente States. (It appears from the local newspaper accounts that Mr. Bárdossy saw the Foreign Ministers separately and did not present the Hungarian requirements to the assembled Council of the Little Entente). The exact terms of these orders to the Hungarian Minister are not yet known, but the Legation has obtained information from a number of reliable sources which would indicate that they were along the following lines: The matter of Hungary's military equality is a sine qua non and a question about which there can be no negotiation. Nevertheless, according to an article by the

Hungarian

Hungarian Foreign Minister, Mr. de Kánya, in
1/ the PESTER LLOYD of September 2, 1937, a translation of which is enclosed herewith, the Hungarian Government is prepared to give "certain guarantees" which the Little Entente Governments have demanded. The Hungarian Government apparently pointed out to the Foreign Ministers of the Little Entente States that the most important problem from the Hungarian point of view and the greatest obstacle to a rapprochement with these countries is the question of the treatment of the Hungarian minorities. It would appear from the information obtained by the Legation and from the article written in the PESTER LLOYD by the Foreign Minister that the Hungarian Government would be prepared to make a statement of its non-aggressive intentions against the Little Entente States or to enter into a non-aggression treaty if these States would first guarantee better treatment for these minorities. The article by Mr. de Kánya would seem to indicate that he insists upon the minority question being satisfactorily settled before "serious rapprochement for the purpose of normalization of the relations between Hungary and the Little Entente" may take place.

One

One source of information with whom the Legation has talked regarding this matter understands that one difficulty at the moment is that of deciding whether Hungary or the Little Entente shall take the initiative in bringing these negotiations to public attention.

Baron Apor has told me that negotiations will now be transferred to Geneva, where Foreign Minister de Kánya will be present during the meeting of the League. There have been rumors that the British and the French Governments are putting pressure on the Little Entente to come to an arrangement with Hungary in order to insure the maintenance of peace in Central Europe. The Counselor of the British Legation has emphatically denied to me that his Government has taken any steps in this direction. He said that the British Government decidedly does not wish to become entangled in the affairs of the Little Entente. Nevertheless, Count Csáky, when he informed the Legation that Foreign Minister de Kánya was going to Geneva, said that the Foreign Minister was anxious to meet Mr. Eden and the Foreign Secretaries of other States. Any conversations between Mr. Eden and Mr. de Kánya will naturally involve a discussion of the political situation in Central Europe.

It

It should be observed in reading the article in the PESTER LLOYD by Mr. de Kánya that he repeatedly speaks of the relations between "Hungary on the one side and Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia on the other side". This phraseology, together with the information furnished by Count Csáky and the fact that Mr. Bárdossy appears to have seen the Foreign Ministers of the Little Entente separately, would seem to indicate that the Hungarian Government is still prepared to come to agreements with such individual States of the Little Entente as may guarantee the better treatment of the Hungarian minorities, even though agreement between Hungary and the Little Entente as a unit may prove impossible of accomplishment.

Respectfully yours,

Howard K. Travers,
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

Enclosure:

PESTER LLOYD article
of September 2, 1937.

In quintuplicate

Legation file 710

Enclosure to Despatch No. 804 of
September 8, 1937 from the
American Legation at Budapest.

T R A N S L A T I O N

SOURCE: PESTER LLOYD,
September 2, 1937.

THE LITTLE ENTENTE AND HUNGARY

As usual, an official communiqué was published after the conclusion of the conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Little Entente, which took place at Sinaia and lasted two days. This rather voluminous official statement does not make special mention of Hungary; it contains, however, a part which is of interest also from the Hungarian point of view. According to the communiqué the Permanent Council of the Little Entente, which devotes special attention to the question of political and economic relations between the Little Entente States and the rest of the Danube States, unanimously expressed the wish that these relations should develop in a direction permeated by confidence. The communiqué adds that the Little Entente States will not fail to avail themselves of every opportunity to attest their goodwill in this respect.

We, on our part, do not wish under any circumstances to doubt the goodwill of the Little Entente in settling their relations with Hungary. As far as Hungary's attitude in this matter is concerned, it is generally known and has recently been repeatedly stated by competent quarters that Hungary is ready to solve problems pending between ourselves and other States on the basis of mutual agreement with such States and to consider all proposals of cooperation in the Danubian Valley. These basic principles of Hungarian policy prevail unchanged.

It is nevertheless necessary, it seems, on the present occasion, to point to the circumstances that a normalization by honest compromise of relations between Hungary on the one side and Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia on the other side is only possible if the real obstacles still standing in the way of a rapprochement be removed. Hungary considers the treatment of the Hungarian minorities in the States of the Little Entente to be such an obstacle. Minority treatment has developed into a problem of paramount

importance

importance and is the source of a large proportion of differences between ourselves and the Little Entente. Hungary must unswervingly insist upon her desire that the situation of the Hungarian minorities be improved according to the intentions of existing treaties. Without a satisfactory settlement of this question, no serious rapprochement for the purpose of the normalization of relations between Hungary and the Little Entente is possible; it is also inconceivable that the road to a rapprochement may be profitably prepared by negotiation as long as this question remains unsettled. Responsible statements on the tendencies of Hungarian foreign policy have never left room for doubt that an adequate adjustment of the situation of the Hungarian minorities according to the spirit and the letter of the existing treaties is a vital problem for Hungary.

The Foreign Ministers of the Little Entente presumably also discussed the question of Hungary's military equality. The three Governments demand certain guarantees from Hungary in this connection. Hungary is, in fact, ready to offer such guarantees, which is a pure formality since it is actually a matter of obtaining something naturally due her; we must, however, on the basis of the principle of "do ut des" (a natural principle of international life) insist upon a guarantee to be offered us. We demand such guarantee in view of the aforementioned situation of the Hungarian minorities, and to us it is beyond any doubt that adequate adjustment of the situation of the minorities according to the intentions of existing treaties,and a guarantee offered to this effect, would very considerably contribute to the normalization of relations between ourselves and the States of the Little Entente. Certain events of these last few weeks clearly attest that Hungary's desire for a guarantee is fully justified. Quite recently the Czech authorities stopped, from one day to another, payment of pensions to former employees of the Hungarian State Railways living in Czechoslovakia, refusing to recognize the Czech citizenship of the pensioners in question. This measure means financial ruin to this section of the Hungarian minority. It should also be mentioned in this connection that the Hungarians owning land and living in the frontier zone are being summoned one after the other, on the grounds of the Czechoslovak State Defence Act of last year, to sell their land within a set time limit to Czech citizens who are considered reliable.

The

The principles to be taken into account as a prerequisite to the normalization of relations between Hungary on the one side and Rumania, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia on the other side become evident by the facts stated above. The aims of Hungarian foreign policy in this respect have been known for quite a long time and by now the peaceful spirit of our policy, which has considerably contributed to the lessening of tension in the international political atmosphere, is already generally recognized.

The communiqué on the Sinaia conference contains yet another point which we must mention. It is the paragraph in which the Foreign Ministers of the Little Entente emphasize, in connection with the well-known statement of Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State of the United States, how thoroughly they agree with what Mr. Hull stated relative to the sanctity of treaties.

It necessarily follows, however, from the principle of the sanctity of treaties, that there should not be any discrimination as to observance of the particular stipulations of international treaties. We therefore would like to believe that the words of the Sinaia communiqué signify that, in the future, the States of the Little Entente will observe those not-at-all-numerous stipulations of the Treaty of Trianon which, to a certain extent, safeguard Hungarian interests and that they will likewise honor the treaties, closely connected with the Treaty of Trianon, which impose certain obligations concerning the minorities living in the States of the Little Entente.

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LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 809

Budapest, September 10, 1937.

SUBJECT: Rapprochement between Hungary and the Little Entente.

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M. I. D.
SEP 28 1937

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
A-M/C
SEP 28 1937
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
OF STATE

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to the Legation's despatch No. 804 of September 8, 1937, and to give the Department herewith such information as has come to the attention of the Legation since that despatch was written.

I

FP

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SEP 30 1937

I had an opportunity to speak with Dr. Eckhardt last evening about this question. As he has had frequent conversations during the last week or ten days with the Foreign Minister, it is probable that he is completely informed with regard to the most recent developments.

Dr. Eckhardt was not inclined to be very optimistic. He said that it is true that the atmosphere between Hungary and the States of the Little Entente has somewhat cleared and that definite efforts had been made to reach some basis for normalizing relations between these groups. It appeared from what he said (and this confirms what was written in the despatch under reference regarding a conversation with Count Csáky) that the greatest progress had been made in the conversations with the Rumanian Government. However, according to Dr. Eckhardt, Antonescu has recently been pulling back and Eckhardt has reason to suspect that it is the French who are trying to prevent a general rapprochement in the Danubian Valley. He said that he had come up against the same difficulty some years ago when he was at Geneva, when he and

764.71

Dr.

Dr. Benes, then Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, were very close to an agreement with regard to the minority question. According to Dr. Eckhardt, the French at that time put pressure on the Czechoslovak Government and prevented the consummation of this agreement. Dr. Eckhardt does not attribute bad faith to the French Government as such, but says that the bureaucrats at the Quai d'Orsay cannot get away from the idea that France should have the little Entente as its tool in the Danubian area.

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For this reason Dr. Eckhardt does not expect very much to happen at Geneva. He is afraid that the delegates at the meeting of the League will be too much occupied with questions of more immediate concern and will not, therefore, be able to give careful attention to the situation in this part of Europe. He does not believe that it is possible for any great progress to be made toward rapprochement between Hungary and the States of the Little Entente without a certain amount of pressure being exercised from London and Paris. Up to the present time, he says, London has done absolutely nothing and he does not see any possibility of a change in this attitude in the near future. He does not see

how

41-4

how Antonescu, Stoyadinovich, or Krofta could carry through the necessary minority agreements in their respective countries unless they could show that London and Paris are putting pressure upon them and are intent upon a rapprochement in this area.

As regards Hungarian rearmament, which is also involved in this question, Eckhardt does not see any likelihood of Hungary taking unilateral action in the near future. He said that Röder is favorable to Parliamentary government and that nothing will happen in this question contrary to the wishes of the Foreign Office so long as Röder remains Minister of Defense. However, the internal calm cannot last forever, Eckhardt says, if Hungarian wishes and aspirations for a peaceful settlement of the rearmament and minority questions do not receive more favorable consideration than they have received in the past. A continuation of this frustration over a further period of two or three years might well bring about a reaction in Hungary which, according to Eckhardt, might lead to a dictatorial government which would take matters in its own hands.

Respectfully yours,

Howard K. Travers,
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

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Legation file 710

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DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 863.00 P.R./177 FOR #1199

FROM Austria (Wiley) DATED Sept. 7, 1937

TO NAME 1—1127 GPO

REGARDING: Conference of Little Entente. Economic cooperation in the Danube Basin discussed at the,- recently held at Sinaia.

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Conference of Little Entente.

Economic cooperation in the Danube Basin was also dealt with by the Conference of the Little Entente recently held at Sinaia. On this subject the official communiqué of the Permanent Council of the Little Entente said that the Council had devoted its special attention to the question of political and economic relations of the States of the Little Entente with the other countries of the Danube Basin and declared that their relations were developing in a spirit of mutual confidence. The communiqué stated further that the states of the Little Entente would not fail to avail themselves of any opportunity to give proof of their good will in this respect.

The declaration of the Conference as to its firm adherence to the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states found a favorable reception in the Vienna press. The REICHSPOST in this regard wrote on September 3 that this policy constituted a welcome progress as compared with a past in which Austria had had to experience almost periodically that even its right to determine its own form of state was contested in a threatening manner. Since that unfriendly practice had been abandoned, conditions in the Danube Basin had gradually become more favorable and cooperation had made noticeable progress.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

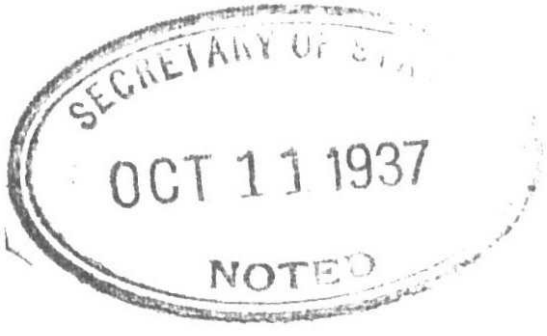
DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

October 8, 1937.

S:

On page 2 will be found a reference to the hearty approval of the Secretary of State's declaration of July 16 by the meeting of the Little Entente powers in Sinaia at the end of August.

R.D.C.



LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Prague, September 10, 1937.

No. 761 B15

Subject: Solidarity of Little Entente and Meeting of Little Entente at Sinaia, Rumania, August 30, 31, 1937.

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SECRETARY OF STATE
OCT 11 1937
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The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that, while it is recognized that there are arguments which may be used to develop the theory that the days of the Little Entente are numbered, nevertheless, its continued solidarity remains one of the primary pillars of Czechoslovakia's foreign policy. This is not only constantly enunciated by leading statesmen such as President Beneš and Minister of Foreign Affairs Dr. Krofta but privately by other officials of the Government. Several days ago, in answer to a general question, in a conversation

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I had with him, the Chief of the Political Section (Fierlinger) emphatically expressed his faith in the solidarity and efficacy of the Little Entente. Dr. Fierlinger is an intimate friend and collaborator of the President and reflects his views closely.

Public expressions of this solidarity were expressed at the recent (August 30-31) meeting at Sinaia, Rumania. This was contained, as published here, in an official communiqué, a summary of which is given below. As of interest to the Department it will be noted that the representatives of the Little Entente took occasion to reaffirm their collective support to the Secretary of State's pronouncements of July 16, 1937. The communiqué dealt with the following points:

1. Stability of the foreign policy of the Little Entente countries.

2. Cooperation with the League of Nations.

3. Coordination with any new Locarno Pact under existing alliances.

4. Support of non-intervention policy and sanctity of treaties.

5. Hearty approval of Secretary of State Hull's declaration of July 16th, pertaining to America's sponsorship of economic and political cooperation.

6. Good will towards the Danubian countries (referring to Hungary).

7. Indication that the economic relations

between

between the three countries are developing satisfactorily. The initiative of the Belgian Prime Minister towards an alleviation of trade impediments is commented upon with approval.

8. The Permanent Council of the Little Entente to conclude in the very near future a convention on the legalization of documents.

9. The next meeting of the Permanent Council to be held in September in Geneva on the occasion of the meeting of the League of Nations.

Much importance has been placed in this country on the Sinaia meeting in terms of its political significance in view of the attendance of the Hungarian Minister to Rumania, the Italian Minister to Hungary and the attendance of the Italian Aviation General Pellegrini.

The visit which the Hungarian Minister paid to the three Prime Ministers of the Little Entente is reported here to have dealt with the relations between Hungary on the one side, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia on the other. Similar visits and negotiations between the Italians and the Little Entente statesmen are also indicated to have lead to the signature of an Air Convention pertaining to the establishment of a direct air route: Rome-Belgrade-Bucharest.

In a conversation which Mr. Carr had today - on the occasion of his first informal call on the Minister of Foreign Affairs prior to the formal

presentation

presentation of his letters of credence on the President - Dr. Krofta expressed great satisfaction over the fact that Italy was exerting its influence on Hungary to cooperate with the Little Entente. Whereas the situation in the Mediterranean is viewed here with great concern, Dr. Krofta expressed the feeling that Italy's attitude in encouraging Hungary to cooperate was an element for peace and a distinct recognition of the solidarity and efficacy of the Little Entente.

Respectfully yours,

Vinton Chapin

Vinton Chapin,
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

VC/EJ

710 Little Entente

Copies to: Budapest,
Belgrade, Bucharest,
Rome.

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Bucharest, September 11, 1937.

No. 431

Subject: The Question of Little Entente Rapprochement with Hungary.

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DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
OCT 6 1937
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ADVISER ON POLITICAL RELATIONS
MR. DUNN
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The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

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Referring to that portion of my despatch (No. 427) of September 4th last which dealt with the meeting of the Hungarian Minister and the three Foreign Ministers of the States of the Little Entente, I have the honor to enclose herewith translations of three articles which have recently appeared in the local press regarding possibilities of rapprochement between Hungary on the one hand and the Little Entente States on the other.

Two of these articles were published in the CURENTUL, a nationalistic organ subsidized by the National

Liberal

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Liberal Party, and strike quite an optimistic view. They make a particular point of showing that the problem of the minorities need not stand in the way of an understanding, even going so far as to say that "clarification of the Hungarian minorities question in the countries of the Little Entente is a very natural demand and will never be an obstacle in the path to a normalization of relations". They express the view that Rumanian policy regarding the minorities is equitable, although abuses undoubtedly occur in local administration at the hands of subordinate officials.

The third article, which is taken from LE MOMENT, Bucharest's independent French-language daily, speaks pessimistically of certain statements now appearing in the Hungarian press, particularly in NEMZETI UJSAG, to the effect that the realization of a modus vivendi can not be construed to mean the liquidation of revisionist hopes, to which LE MOMENT replies that, now as always, for the members of the Little Entente "revision means war".

Foreign Minister Antonescu left Bucharest three days ago for Geneva, where he will participate in the meetings of the League Council and the Mediterranean Conference, and it is expected here that this occasion will be utilized for further discussions among the Little Entente representatives, and probably with Foreign Minister de Kanya, looking to a rapprochement with Hungary.

Respectfully yours,

Frederick P. Hibbard

Frederick P. Hibbard,
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

Enclosures:
1- Translations of newspaper articles.
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Copy to Budapest.

Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch No. 431
of September 11, 1937, from the
American Legation, Bucharest.

THREE ARTICLES ON THE QUESTION OF

LITTLE ENTENTE RAPPROCHEMENT WITH HUNGARY

(in translation)

CURENTUL, September 5, 1937.

On the 8th of September Mr. Antonescu leaves for Geneva. His trip takes on exceptional importance. The question of relations between the Little Entente and Hungary has remained in suspension.

Mr. Bardossy, the Hungarian Minister at Bucharest, has informed his Government at Budapest as to the spirit and the trend of the conversations at Sinaia. Hungary, advised by Italy, appears disposed today to renounce the fruitless policy of revisionist agitation.

Not only that. Hungary well realizes that for a policy of détente in Central Europe she must renounce some of her national pride, which constantly prevents international collaboration.

The fact is that the Foreign Minister at Budapest has informed Bucharest of two very significant decisions: First, that he intends to negotiate with Rumania and the Little Entente for the recognition and the legalization of the right to arm; two, Hungary points out that she is disposed to satisfy the request of the Little Entente for increased security before legalization of the right to arm would be granted.

The third Magyar decision taken by the Budapest Government concerns a clarification of the question of the Hungarian minorities in the states of the Little Entente.

The regime for the minorities is recognized as equitable, but its application is criticized at Budapest. Certain abuses by subordinates are the causes for the present misunderstandings.

These decisions of the Magyar Government form the basis of discussion. Upon the success of the conversations which are to be held at Geneva hangs the enlargement of the plan of Danubian collaboration conceived by Mr. Milan Hodza, Czechoslovak Prime Minister.

These problems, which are now on the horizon of Rumania's foreign policy, make the mission of Mr. Antonescu to Geneva the most significant for Rumania since the War.

ROMULUS DIANU.

CURENTUL

CURENTUL, September 6.

A conciliatory manifestation is clearly noted in the statements and in the activity, behind the scenes, of the three Foreign Ministers of the States of the Little Entente. There are hopes, I dare say even certainties, that the irritating point of Central Europe, Hungary, will no longer be a concern and a shadow over every hope of peace..... The realist spirit has taken the place of a competition in eloquence.....

Budapest is beginning to see in the policy of the States of the Little Entente something other than a stubborn hostility, a threat; this, naturally, tends to promote a policy of rapprochement, and instead of grandiloquent romanticism, which bears only suspicion, we have common sense.

When a happy medium is found, when the economic ties are strengthened, when the States of the Danubian Basin form a political unity, it is certain that hatreds will disappear. Clarification of the Hungarian minorities question in the countries of the Little Entente is a very natural demand and will never be an obstacle in the path to a normalization of relations.

No one who judges objectively can contest the equitable spirit, especially in Rumania, in regard to the minorities, and certain errors of tact in application come strictly within the administrative sphere. In the division of expropriated lands the Rumanian State very equitably gave equal shares to the Hungarian peasants..... If Hungary sincerely wishes to normalize relations with Rumania, the paths to an understanding are wide open so as to give to the economic make-up of the Danubian Basin a unity of rhythm, a pulsation of intensive life.

It is true that in this new orientation Italy has fully proved the political intention which she pursues: no thought of hate, no anticipation of any considerable advantages which opposition to the point of exasperation of the States of Central Europe might bring. She has shown much tact in the discreet renunciation of playing the role of director in the solution, which, moreover, is much more durable when it does not have behind it the diplomatic artifices of the Great Powers. The presence of one Great Power, no matter how good the intentions, requires the presence of the others.

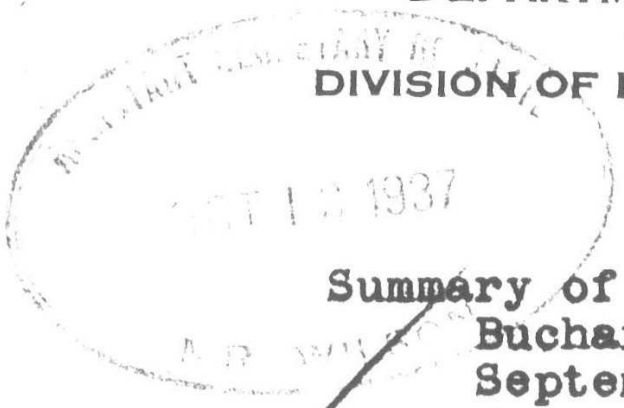
Evidently, the opposition of Italy to the normalization of relations between Hungary and the Little Entente would have prevented any moves that Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia might have been disposed to make. An approval, an encouragement even, but shaded with a superior intelligence on the part of Italy, has facilitated certain beginnings without provoking the susceptibilities of the other Great Powers.

A sincere pacific policy controls all our foreign

JF
PM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS



October 7, 1937.

Summary of Despatch No. 431,
Bucharest, Rumania,
September 11, 1937.

Subject: The Little Entente and Hungary.

A-W
Mr Wilson

Newspaper articles enclosed with this despatch indicate a certain amount of sympathy for a rapprochement between Hungary and the Little Entente states. The Curentul, a nationalistic organ subsidized by the Government party, declares that the minorities' problem should not stand in the way of an understanding. It admits, moreover, that abuses undoubtedly occur in local administration at the hands of subordinate officials. Also, it makes the statement that the fate of the Hodza plan for Danubian collaboration hangs upon the bettering of relations between Hungary and the Little Entente. A second article in the same paper says that Italy apparently favors the rapprochement, for if it had not done so a movement in this direction would never have occurred.

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moves and we do not ask as a condition for good relations but what is natural: a loyal recognition of Rumanian realities, defined in our frontiers which form but the juridical garment of our ethnic extent. In his mission Mr. Antonescu has not behind him an aggressive nation rooted in hate, but the very sensible conciliating spirit of the Rumanians.

I should like to see Hungary also in a position to present the same spirit, in a position to clarify a public opinion so long a time disturbed by revisionist agitation. On the other hand, a cessation of instigations, a calming of the Hungarian spirit, would incontestably have its influence in the disposition of the Magyar minorities of the States of the Little Entente: that is the very objective pursued, that is what Hungary presents as a condition for rapprochement with Rumania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.

Diplomatic conversations with Hungary preface a decided cross-road in the life of the States along the Danube.

And there are signs which justify a warm optimism.

PAMFIL SEICARU

LE MOMENT, September 11.

The commentaries which followed the conference of the Permanent Council of the Little Entente at Sinaia have not failed to point out that relations with Hungary have palpably eased. The interview of Mr. Bardossy and the assembled representatives of the three States has caused public opinion to believe in the possibility of creating an atmosphere favorable to a rapprochement. But what was the amazement of this public opinion when it became aware of certain articles appearing in the press of Budapest which, instead of contributing to the formation of the spirit necessary for the development of cordial relations, prefer to create an abyss between the Little Entente and Hungary.

"We do not know", writes the NEMZETI USJAG, "what solutions were found by the Chancellors of the Little Entente. It is certain that the basis and the condition of a modus vivendi with Hungary can not be the liquidation of revisionist hopes. If the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Little Entente do not know it, then their ignorance of this fact is a new proof that the Governments of the Little Entente have been dangerously misinformed with regard to Hungary.

"If

"If they are not aware of this fact, let them now know that Hungary will never renounce her pretensions to the revision of the treaties pacifically."

And to explain what is understood by "pacific revision":

"Firstly, the restoration of the territories where the Hungarians live in compact masses and of those which are in immediate ethnographic liaison with mutiliated Hungary. Then a plebiscite under international control in the territories of mixed population."

Finally the newspaper in question continues to invoke all kinds of pretensions, one less acceptable than the other. The fact that a Hungarian newspaper pleads the cause of revisionism is explicable enough. It will also undoubtedly contribute to the clarification of the opinion of the Little Entente as to the true intentions of Hungary. It will show that armament of Hungary, generously and tacitly admitted by the three States, is not an end in itself, but rather that Hungary has other designs.

And since the newspaper in question believes that the Chancellors of the States of the Little Entente are not fully cognizant of Hungarian public opinion, it is good to recall that this revision of which it dreams preoccupies the political men of the three allied and friendly countries. The only difference is that certain political men of Budapest dream of revision, while the directors of the Little Entente always repeat that: REVISION MEANS WAR.

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Bucharest, September 17, 1937.

No. 433

Subject: Maritime Conference of the Balkan Entente.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
A-M/C
OCT 7 1937
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
OF STATE

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EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
OCT 6 1937
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OCT 14 1937
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that a conference of the Maritime Committee of the Balkan Entente (see also Consulate's Weekly Economic Report of September 14, 1937) was held in Bucharest from September 7th to 14th last, at which time consideration was given the various maritime problems of common interest to the four member States of the Balkan Entente.

It is understood that the delegates of the participating States----Greece, Turkey, Yugoslavia and Rumania----signed a protocol which is to be put into final form by the Economic Council of the Balkan Entente, but the

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precise terms of this document have not been made known. Today's MOMENT (independent French-language daily), however, publishes the following account of the work done:

Unification of Maritime Legislation. - The secretariat of the Balkan Entente will elaborate a detailed study on the subject of the possibility of developing liaisons between the lines of the maritime companies of the countries of the Balkan Entente.

In order to arrive at a closer maritime collaboration the participating countries will commence the preparatory work necessary for a progressive unification of maritime legislation.

Creation of Maritime Chambers. - On the subject of the functioning of the organizations which will supervise and coordinate maritime interests, the Greek delegation disclosed that the Government of its country had decided upon the creation of a maritime chamber. The Yugoslav delegate declared, in his turn, that a similar chamber will also be created in Yugoslavia.

Combined Maritime-Railway Tariff. - As regards combined maritime-railway tariffs, they were, as from now on, admitted in principle.

The Yugoslav delegation announced that such a tariff would soon enter into force on the Salonica-Beirut-Cyprus line. This tariff will likewise be extended subsequently to the transport of merchandise.

Adoption of "English system". - The Committee adopted, for purposes of taxation and the gauging of boats on the Danube, the "English system".

Maritime Insurance. - On the subject of maritime insurance, as well as of nautical registry and maritime credit, the representative of Greek shipowners pointed out all the difficulties encountered in the realization of these desiderata.

Other news reports indicate that consideration of setting up a Balkan maritime line, proposed by the Yugoslav delegation, was postponed until the next session,

that

that note was taken of the communication of the Rumanian delegate to the effect that Rumania will adhere to the convention at Paris for the suppression of consular visas on bills of health of commercial vessels and that it was agreed that uniform taxes should be charged in ports (UNIVERSUL, September 17, 1937).

The next meeting of the maritime committee, which has its headquarters at Piraeus and was created out of the necessity of developing the economic relations of these states through closer collaboration in water transportation and unification of their maritime legislation, will take place at Istanbul.

Respectfully yours,

Frederick P. Hibbard

Frederick P. Hibbard,
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

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LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 438 Bucharest, September 23, 1937.

Subject: Communiqué Issued by Balkan Entente Following Geneva Meeting.

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The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
A-M/C
OCT 20 1937
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

Sir:

I have the honor to give below, as a matter of record and without comment, a translation of the communiqué issued at the close of a meeting of the delegates of the Balkan Entente at Geneva on October 21st last:

The delegates of the States of the Balkan Entente at Geneva, on the occasion of the 18th Assembly of the League of Nations, met today, September 21, at the headquarters of the Yugoslav Delegation.

The delegates proceeded to an exchange of views on all international questions which

interest

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OCT 22 1937

interest their countries and especially on the situation in the Mediterranean.

They have been able to note their perfect community of conceptions and interests.

The ordinary session of the Permanent Council of the Balkan Entente will take place during the month of January 1938 at Ankara. (Translated from LE MOMENT of September 23, 1937.)

Respectfully yours,

Frederick P. Hibbard

Frederick P. Hibbard,
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

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CKH:EMS.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

October 22, 1937.

Summary of Despatch No. 441,
from Legation at Bucharest,
dated October 4, 1937.

Subject: Foreign Minister Antonescu

M. Antonescu's visit to Geneva was filled with "lively activity". At Nyon he presented the viewpoint of the Balkan Entente, taking care to not offend Italy. He of course seized the opportunity to have the usual interviews with prominent statesmen. In an address before the Assembly of the League on behalf of the Little Entente, he made a particularly strong and pointed condemnation of the present tendency toward the "transposition of doctrinal conflicts to the field of international policy, the division of Europe and of the world into ideological clans." An appearance was made to create the impression that active efforts are being made to arrive at an agreement with Hungary, but nothing definite in this connection was reported from Bucharest.

The Presidency of the Permanent Council of the Little Entente has passed this year to M. Antonescu and the Secretariate of the Council is now being transferred to Bucharest.

R. D. Coe

Eu:RDC:DG

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Bucharest, October 4, 1937.

No. 441

Subject: Foreign Minister Antonescu's Activities at Geneva.

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
OCT 20 1937
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS

Rating	Translation Instructions
Grade for	

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The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
A-M/C
OCT 22 1937
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

I have the honor to report that Foreign Minister Antonescu arrived back in Bucharest last night from almost three weeks of lively activity at Geneva on behalf of Rumania and the two formal political blocs of which she is a member, the Little and Balkan Ententes. At Nyon Mr. Antonescu presented the viewpoint of the Balkan Entente at the Mediterranean Conference on "piracy", molding its resolutions favorably to Italy and winning significant endorsement from Bulgaria, and at Geneva he served as rapporteur on the question of the

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the Palestine mandate, addressed the League Assembly on behalf of the Little Entente, presided at the 34th Conference of the Permanent Council of the Little Entente, and had innumerable interviews with the leading statesmen of other countries, notably Delbos, Litvinov and de Kanya. On his return trip he stopped off at Belgrade for a two-day visit with Dr. Stoyadinovitch, Yugoslav Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, and reached Bucharest just in time to attend the welcoming reception at the French Legation for General Gamelin, French Chief of Staff who is paying an extended visit to Rumania in connection with attendance at the annual military maneuvers which are to start on October 10th.

1/ There is enclosed herewith a translation of the address which Mr. Antonescu delivered before the Assembly of the League on behalf of the Little Entente on September 21st. In addition to the usual professions of faith in international collaboration, collective security, the League of Nations, the indivisibility of peace, respect of treaties and the preservation of existing frontiers, there is a particularly strong and pointed condemnation of the present tendency toward the "transposition of doctrinal conflicts to the field of international policy, the division of Europe and of the world into ideological clans". The speech in general was well received and widely commented by the Rumanian press, but this latter point seems to have received more space than any other. A few excerpts from representative

2/ observations on the address are enclosed herewith in translation.

The

The Geneva meeting was made the occasion of a conference (on September 27th) of the Permanent Council of the Little Entente, at the close of which a communi-
3/ qué (translation enclosed) was issued affirming once again a perfect "identity of views" and stating that particular attention had been accorded to "relations among the States in the Danubian Basin and especially to those between Hungary and the Little Entente....." In connection with this latter point it is recalled that the Hungarian Minister to Rumania had conversations with the Little Entente representatives at the time of the Sinaia meeting of the Council on August 30-31 (despatch No. 427 of Septembre 4, 1937), and that these were followed by discussions between Hungarian Foreign Minister de Kanya and the Entente delegates during the Geneva meeting, thus creating the appearance that active efforts are being made to arrive at a modus vivendi between the two parties.

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In the meantime the press has given considerable attention to a meeting in Bucharest on September 27th and 28th last of the Presidents of the National Banks of the three States of the Little Entente. Besides providing an occasion for the discussion of problems in connection with facilitating commercial payments and increasing the volume of trade among the three countries (see also Consulate's Weekly Economic Report of October 5, 1937), this conference was heralded as constituting still another manifestation of Entente "solidarity" and collaboration.

It may be mentioned also that in view of the fact

that

that the Presidency of the Permanent Council of the Little Entente has passed this year to Mr. Antonescu the Secretariate of the Council is now in process of transfer to Bucharest, Dr. Karel Dittrich and Mr. Radovan Petrovich, Czechoslovak and Yugoslav representatives, respectively, having already arrived. The Rumanian representative, Mr. Theodore Scortzesco, becomes head of the Secretariate for the period during which its headquarters are at Bucharest.

Respectfully yours,

Frederick P. Hibbard

Frederick P. Hibbard,
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

3 Enclosures:

1- Translation of Mr. Antonescu's address.
2- " " press comment.
3- " " communiqué.

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Copies to Belgrade and Pragua.

(Translated from
INDEPENDANCE ROUMAINE
of Sept. 23, 1937.)

Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch No.
of October 4, 1937, from the
American Legation, Bucharest.

SPEECH OF VICTOR ANTONESCU, RUMANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER
AND PRESIDENT OF THE PERMANENT COUNCIL OF THE LITTLE ENTENTE
AT THE ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AT GENEVA
SEPTEMBER 21, 1937

Mr. President, Ladies, Gentlemen:

In my capacity as president "en exercice" of the Little Entente, I come to bring to this tribune my testimony of the attachment of the three States to the idea of international collaborative security which finds its highest expression in the Covenant of the League of Nations.

The Little Entente was born at the moment when the League of Nations had just been constituted. It (the Little Entente) has faithfully seconded it (the League) in its efforts from the first day----it will continue to do so because it finds written in the Covenant principles identical with those that direct its own activity, because it is convinced that the institution at Geneva constitutes an irreplaceable organization which stands as one of the great hopes of humanity.

This discussion is taking place in the face of the preoccupations created by the present situation, which is so disturbed. The relations between certain countries are still troubled, distrust continues to be the origin of regrettable misunderstandings.

In spite of certain disquieting facts, one must always recognize that in a great part of the world symptoms of amelioration are appearing.

The arrangement which has just been concluded at Nyon constitutes a happy testimony of these new symptoms.

We can, then, consider with confidence the noble efforts which have been made on different hands to arrive at a détente, prepare the coming of an era of real peace in the stability and the respect of the rights of everyone who would push war beyond the range of human possibilities.

If grave controversies as to the methods of organization of peace and the simultaneous operation of many systems have been able to create misunderstandings, if certain countries consider that it is the principle of the indivisibility of peace which should form the basis of the organization of the world, while other countries, waiting for this principle to become a reality, endeavor by special accords to reenforce their own security----one thing is certain: that any accord serves the work which

we are pursuing if it has sincerely the aim of eliminating war as a means of solution of international differences, or of assuring, in determined regions, the full efficacity of the stipulations of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

All these accords contribute also to reducing the moral barriers separating peoples today, and to creating a moral international force capable of governing and humanizing material forces and commanding the development of the international community.

There is, besides, no contesting the need of progress of an international community in continual evolution. But it is not possible to share the doubts of those that think the League of Nations no longer corresponds to the dynamism of present international life.

It would in fact be a grave error to invoke this dynamism to make of the League of Nations an institution which would relegate to second place the principles of order, of justice, of peace and of security, which form the foundation of the present Covenant, in order to arrive at providing a so-called juridical and moral foundation to any unilateral pretensions which could be satisfied only at the expense of others.

It is not by destructive theses of faith in the international order, it is on the contrary through giving to each State the certainty that its own political independence and the existing integrity of its territory will be respected, by creating then the sentiment of security, that is to say, security in the subjective sense, that an end can be put to the armaments race.

It is through absolute respect for the principle of the equality of States, sole foundation of a cooperation between sovereign and free States, it is by assuring the efficacity of existing guaranties for the pretection of States against the undertakings of force and of violence, it is in reenforcing such guaranties through regional accords, that peace can become a living reality. The Covenant in its present form has all the suppleness necessary to correspond to the exigencies of the international community.

This Convention, completed by the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, by the facultative clause and by the General Accord, contains the obligations necessary to the end of assuring stability and peace. It is not, then, the reform of the Covenant that must be envisaged, but the means of giving full efficacity to its actual dispositions.

Besides, whoever desires to see the wheels of peace turn normally would spare no effort to create a political climate favorable to the collaboration of the powers which do not form a part of the League of Nations or which hold themselves aloof from its work.

Awaiting a realization of the principle of universality one can, in any case, find inspiration towards such a collaboration in the dispositions concerning security contained in the project adopted in its first reading by the Conference of Disarmament in 1933.

Mr. President, Ladies, Gentlemen:

Within the scope of the efforts of the League of Nations to the end of assuring the maintenance of peace are likewise ranged the work of its technical organizations for developing international collaboration in the economic and financial field, because, if it is true that this collaboration presupposes an atmosphere of détente and of political appeasement, it is also true that the identity, or at least the community, of material interests which creates economic and financial collaboration between different countries constitutes a determining element in the political attitude of the peoples.

The report that the Economic Committee has just submitted to the Assembly is, from this point of view, a particularly interesting document.

Based on a deep and objective study of the facts, the report examines, with a sincerity to which it is agreeable to render homage, the general situation of international exchanges. Without losing from sight at any moment the particular position or the special difficulties of each country, it succeeds in setting forth the direction which international activity should follow in order to arrive with as little delay as possible not only at a recovery of trade, but at the extension of economic relations among the peoples, ends to be obtained through the successful efforts of all countries who participate in the economic life of the world.

As regards us, the countries of the Little Entente, in whose names I have the honor to speak, as well as in that of my own country, Rumania, we find ourselves engaged today on this road, and have thus realized, at least in part, the tendencies which we pointed out at the time of the debates provoked in the Assembly of last year by the discussion on the pripartite declaration of September 1936.

Not only as a result of the increased flexibility in the contingents and the extension of the payments accords have the exchanges among our three countries considerably increased, but the relations between these countries and other countries have benefited from a more liberal tendency which is orienting our trade towards a system in which they will find the liberty which they formerly enjoyed, a thing which places us precisely on the road which is indicated by the report of the Economic Committee.

Mr. President, Ladies, Gentlemen:

Harmony among peoples has too often been troubled

heretofore

heretofore by conflicts of interests, even sometimes by subjective prejudices. A new and grave danger has just recently menaced the peace of the world: that is the transposition of doctrinal conflicts to the field of international policy, the division of Europe and of the world into ideological clans.

The Little Entente considers that every people has the imprescriptible right of choosing its own form of national life.

If the ideological division is sometimes inevitable for individuals and engenders civil war, this division should be flatly repudiated when there is an endeavor to transplant it to the international field.

We should not forget that above political differences arising from traditions, from the necessities of social conservation, and from the aspirations of each nation---- a study even of European civilization shows, beyond the political order of each nation, a deeper order and an active unity----facts of mutual penetration, of trade and of freely agreed to influences, which constitute the very foundation of the spiritual forces of Europe.

In spite of so many differences of nationality, of languages, of races, in spite of so many contrasts of temperaments and of institutions----Europe has been able heretofore to safeguard the unity of its civilization.

It is this treasure which has become the inheritance of the international community that we wish to defend by rising up against wars determined by the antagonisms of ideologies, wars without issues, which in rending Europe would strike all humanity.

Enclosure No. 2 to Despatch No.
of October 4, 1937, from the
American Legation, Bucharest.

(In translation)

PRESS COMMENT ON ADDRESS DELIVERED BY FOREIGN MINISTER ANTONESCU
ON BEHALF OF THE LITTLE ENTENTE,
AT GENEVA, SEPTEMBER 21, 1937.

INDEPENDANCE ROUMAINE (Official French organ of National Liberal Party), Sept. 22, 1937.

.....The clear and courageous thought manifested by the representative of the Little Entente, the close logic of his demonstration, his robust faith in the destiny of the League of Nations, as well as his spirit of ponderation and conciliation, have merited for him a brilliant personal success, and at the same time a considerable success for the group of the three States and Rumania herself, whose policy of peace has been given at the Tribune of the League of Nations such a worthy and eloquent expression.

VIITORUL (Government party's official organ), Sept. 23.

.....Two cardinal ideas should direct international life today. In the first place the ideas of general order. Decisions, conferences, treaties, adherences, etc., should more and more take on a character of generality. The unilateral method in the denunciation of treaties or in decisions on problems of general interest end in the rupture of international equilibrium.

The second idea pointed out by our Minister of Foreign Affairs is the incompatibility of "ideological conflicts" with the "international order". International policy should rest in a practical sphere in order thereby to achieve general accords; ideas and conceptions give birth to insurmountable divergencies, while in practical questions compromise solutions may be found.

These clear principles should be countersigned by all those who look sincerely towards the realization of a healthy "international order".

ADEVERUL (independent, democratic), Sept. 23.

This speech was moderate. It did not have recourse to rhetorical effects; it occupied itself with sober but impressive observations. It formulated clearly in a

concise

concise but absolute fashion faith in the utility of the League, in its utility on the basis of its present statute.

LUPTA (independent, unofficially National Peasant), Sept. 23.

Mr. Victor Antonescu has served the interest not only of Rumania and of her allies but of European civilization itself in denouncing as a grave danger "the transposition to the field of international policy of conflicts of doctrine and the divisions of Europe and of the world into ideological clans".

The Little Entente is too representative of the interests of consolidation of nations recently freed and united, and of states erected on the bases of the new European statute, not to attach full value to the principle affirmed at Geneva by our Minister of Foreign Affairs: "Every people has the right to choose its own form of national life."

.....It was necessary to affirm these principles in the name of Rumania and of the Little Entente from the height of a political and diplomatic tribune such as that at Geneva----and that not only in order that it be heard in the Occident, but also that it be heard here at home by all those who agitate for ideologies which in other countries have led to severe war and to the strain of "ideological war" in the rest of the world.

LE MOMENT (independent, in French), Sept. 24.

.....Drawing his eloquence from the sincerity of his sentiments towards the League of Nations and his courage from the faith that he has avowed in the future of the League of Nations, choosing the best and the strongest arguments from all his political skill and his experience as a veteran diplomat, Mr. Victor Antonescu brilliantly fulfilled his mandate on Tuesday when his turn came to take the floor in the general discussions before the Assembly.

Mr. Victor Antonescu first explained why the three countries of the Little Entente remain attached to the Pact of the League of Nations: (1) Because the Pact is based on the idea of international collaboration, the idea which likewise forms the basis of the statute of the Little Entente; (2) because this Pact preaches the principle of collective security, a principle identical with that which directs the activity of the Little Entente; and (3) because the institution at Geneva constitutes and remains an irreplaceable organization for peace, as well as "an international moral force capable of governing

human

human and material forces and of commanding the development of the international community.

INDEPENDANCE ROUMAINE, October 2.

In his masterly address before the Assembly of the League of Nations, Mr. Victor Antonescu, Minister for Foreign Affairs, defined in particularly expressive terms the new and grave danger which menaces the peace of the world and which consists----as he said----"in the transposition to the field of international policy of conflicts of doctrine, the divisions of Europe and of the world into ideological clans". For the Little Entente it is an incontestable axiom: It is the imprescriptible right of every people to choose its own form of national life.

There can not exist on this subject the least divergence of opinion among all good Rumanians to whatever party they may belong. If they are all resolved to repulse with their utmost energy all meddling or propaganda from without in favor of ideas of the extreme left, they are not less firmly resolved not to accept any direct or indirect influence looking to the propagation of opposing doctrines. "Every people has the imprescriptible right to choose its own form of national life" is the thesis sustained in the name of the Little Entente before the League of Nations. In order that this choice be real each nation should be able to proceed with it in full independence of spirit, free from all foreign influence, sheltered from all moral or material pressure. These are the elementary verities which it is nevertheless well to repeat in order that they be always alive in the conscience of public opinion at home and abroad.

Enclosure No. 3 to Despatch No.
of October 4, 1937 from the
American Legation, Bucharest.

(Translated from
INDEPENDANCE ROUMAINE
of Sept. 28, 1937.)

COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AT CLOSE OF LITTLE ENTENTE MEETING AT GENEVA, SEPTEMBER 27, 1937

The Permanent Council of the Little Entente met at Geneva on Monday, September 27, under the Presidency of Mr. Victor Antonescu, Rumanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Czechoslovakia being represented by Mr. Kamil Krofta, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Yugoslavia by Mr. H. Pouritch, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Paris.

Having passed in review the different questions figuring in the order of the day at the present ordinary session of the Assembly of the League of Nations, and having proceeded to an examination of the general international situation, the representatives of the Little Entente have again noted their perfect identity of views as regards all questions which have been the object of their discussions. They have accorded all their attention to the relations between the States of the Danubian Basin and especially to those between Hungary and the Little Entente, having decided to continue, in a favorable spirit, the conversations which have been started.

Central File: Decimal File 770.00, Political Relations Of States, Relations; Bi-Lateral Treaties., Balkan States And The World, December 12, 1933 - September 13, 1938. December 12, 1933 - September 13, 1938. MS Turkey, Greece, and the Balkan States: Records of the U.S. Department of State, 1930-1944: Records of the Department of State Relating to Political Relations of Turkey, Greece, and the Balkan States, 1930-1939. National Archives (United States). Archives Unbound, link.gale.com%2Fapps%2Fdoc%2FSC5111388021%2FGDSC%3Fu%3Domni%26sid%3Dbookmark-GDSC. Accessed 21 June 2025.